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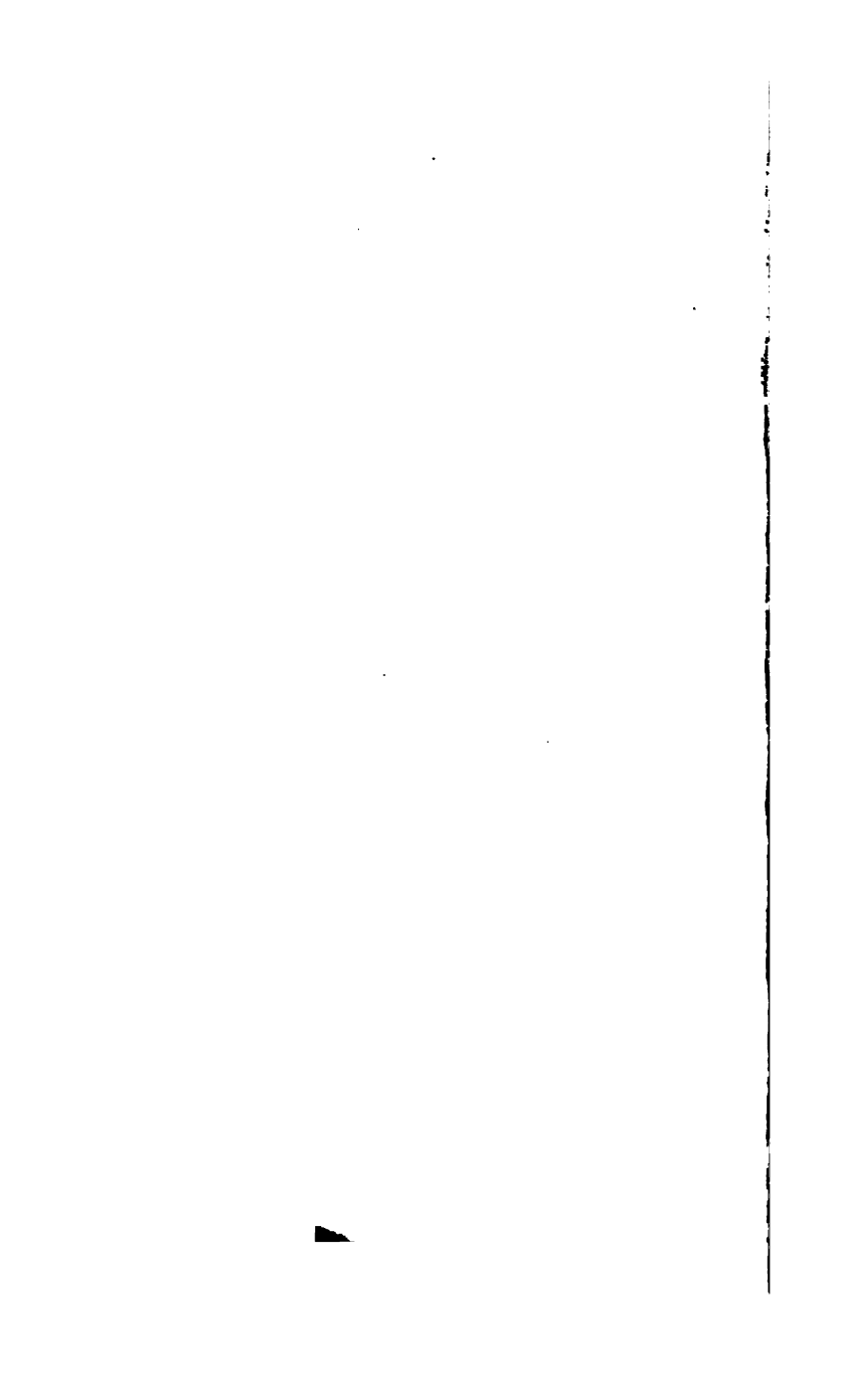
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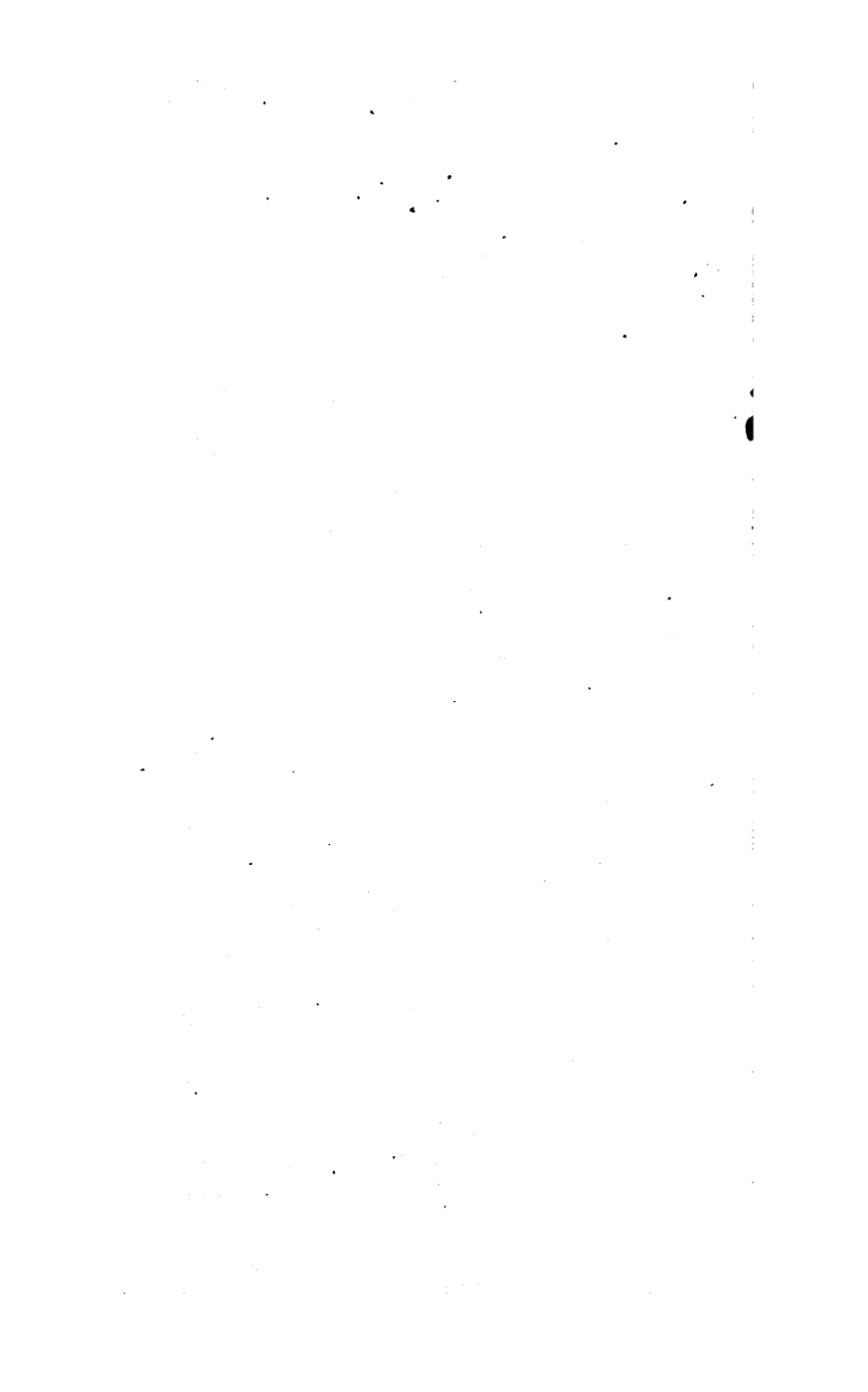
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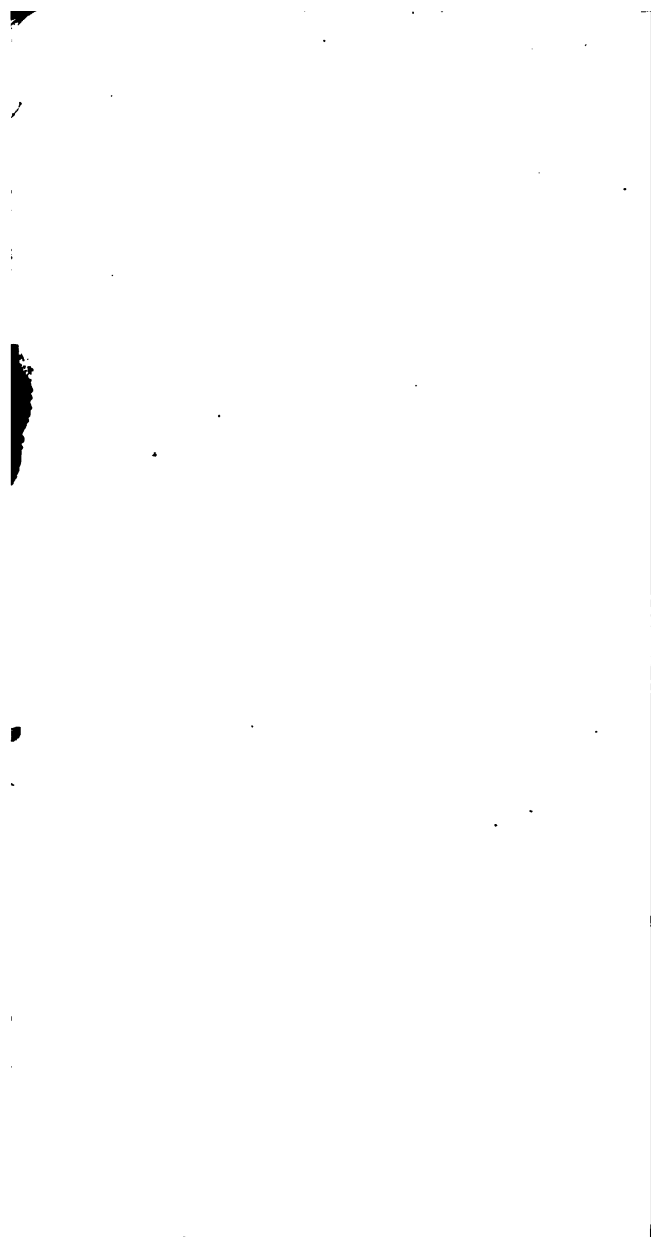


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HANDBOOK OF

PROHIBITION · FACTS

BY WILBUR F. COPELAND

Of the "Voice" Editorial Staff

"We give the Facts, you do the Talking"

New York
FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
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PREFACE.

The material for the present work has been gathered during several years' connection with the *Voice* in its statistical department, and most of it has been published, in some form, in that journal. It has not been considered necessary to state this in each instance, but only when the reader might desire a reference to a more detailed statement of the facts. Several books, which are in each case mentioned in footnotes or otherwise, and most of which are included in the list on pages 100 and 101, of "Books Relating to the Drink Problem," have been drawn upon; and the Government Census and Internal Revenue statistics have been freely appropriated. It is to be regretted that the Census Bureau has been so slow in issuing the reports of the 1890 Census; but so far as they have been issued, they have been carefully examined for information bearing on the subject here under discussion.

The aim has been a concise statement of well-authenticated facts, which any political speaker or reader may have ready for use at a moment's notice. No originality is claimed, except, perhaps, in the omission of elaborate comment or explanations. As the title indicates, the writer has attempted rather to state facts than to draw conclusions.

TARRYTOWN, N. Y., July 14, 1892.

W. F. C.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES ON JUNE 1, 1890

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Total Population.	White.	Colored.	Native.	Foreign Born.	In Town and Cities.
Alabama.....	1,513,017	833,718	679,299	1,498,240	14,777	18,851
Arizona.....	59,620	55,590	4,040	40,825	18,795	1,212
Arkansas.....	1,128,179	518,752	309,427	1,113,915	14,264	10,616
California.....	1,308,130	1,111,672	96,453	841,821	366,309	68,071
Colorado.....	412,198	404,468	7,730	328,208	83,990	22,816
Connecticut.....	746,258	733,438	12,820	562,657	183,601	62,111
Delaware.....	168,498	140,066	28,427	155,332	13,161	2,800
Dist. Columbia.	28,892	154,695	78,697	211,622	18,770	28,892
Florida.....	391,422	224,949	166,473	368,490	22,932	8,816
Georgia.....	1,387,353	978,357	858,996	1,825,216	12,137	30,111
Idaho.....	84,835	82,018	2,817	66,929	17,456	1,611
Illinois.....	3,826,351	3,768,472	57,879	2,984,004	842,347	1,22,349
Indiana.....	2,192,404	2,146,736	45,668	2,046,199	146,205	70,121
Iowa.....	1,911,396	1,901,086	10,310	1,587,827	324,069	50,011
Kansas.....	1,427,096	1,376,553	50,543	1,279,258	147,838	32,811
Kentucky.....	1,858,635	1,590,462	268,173	1,799,279	59,356	42,811
Louisiana.....	1,118,587	558,395	560,192	1,068,840	49,747	30,111
Maine.....	661,086	659,263	1,823	582,125	78,961	5,811
Maryland.....	1,042,890	826,493	215,897	948,094	94,296	5,811
Massachusetts.	2,288,943	2,215,373	28,570	1,581,806	697,137	2,11,311
Michigan.....	2,093,839	2,072,894	21,005	1,550,009	543,880	82,111
Minnesota.....	1,301,826	1,296,159	5,667	884,470	467,856	30,111
Mississippi.....	1,289,600	544,851	744,749	1,281,648	7,952	10,111
Missouri.....	2,679,184	2,528,458	150,726	2,444,315	234,869	82,111
Montana.....	132,159	127,271	4,888	69,063	48,096	2,811
Nebraska.....	1,058,910	1,046,988	12,022	856,368	202,542	30,111
Nevada.....	45,761	39,064	6,697	31,055	14,706	2,811
New Hampshire	376,530	375,340	690	304,190	72,340	2,811
New Jersey.....	1,444,933	1,396,581	48,352	1,115,958	328,975	90,111
New Mexico.....	153,598	142,719	10,879	142,384	11,219	2,811
New York.....	5,997,853	5,928,952	78,901	4,426,803	1,571,050	4,12,111
North Carolina.	1,617,947	1,065,382	562,565	1,614,245	3,702	13,111
North Dakota..	182,719	182,123	596	101,258	81,461	2,811
Ohio.....	3,672,316	3,584,805	87,511	3,213,023	459,293	1,62,111
Oklahoma.....	61,834	58,826	3,008	59,094	2,740	1,211
Oregon.....	313,767	301,758	12,009	256,450	57,317	2,811
Pennsylvania..	5,258,014	5,148,257	109,757	4,412,294	845,720	2,34,111
Rhode Island..	345,506	337,859	7,647	289,201	106,305	32,111
South Carolina.	1,151,149	462,008	689,141	1,144,879	6,270	10,111
South Dakota..	328,808	327,290	1,518	237,753	91,055	4,811
Tennessee.....	1,767,518	1,396,637	430,881	1,747,489	20,029	30,111
Texas.....	2,235,523	1,745,935	489,588	2,082,567	152,956	42,111
Utah.....	207,905	205,899	2,006	154,841	53,064	8,811
Vermont.....	332,442	331,418	1,024	288,334	44,068	2,811
Virginia.....	1,655,980	1,020,122	635,858	1,637,608	18,374	32,111
Washington....	349,390	340,513	8,877	259,385	90,005	10,111
West Virginia..	762,794	730,077	32,717	743,911	18,883	10,111
Wisconsin.....	1,686,880	1,680,473	6,407	1,167,681	519,199	60,111
Wyoming.....	60,705	59,275	1,430	45,792	14,913	2,811
Total.....	62,622,250	54,983,890	7,638,360	53,372,703	9,249,547	26,111

* This embraces all cities, towns and villages of over 1,000 population. *Census Bulletin No. 194* (June 22, 1892), on "Population by Color, and General Nativity: 1890," furnishes the first five columns of the table. The population in 1890 consisted of 32,067,880 males, and 30,554,370 females. There were 45,862,023 native white persons, 34,358,348 were born of white parents, and 11,503,675 of foreign parents. The colored element, including Chinese, Japanese, and Indians not living on reservations, as well as persons of African descent, represents 12.2 per cent. of the total population, or 13.46, 12.89, 14.38, 15.69 per cent. in 1880, 1870, 1860, 1850, respectively. Percentage of foreign born, 13.77, against 13.32, 14.44, 18.16, 9.68, in 1880, 1870, 1860, 1850, respectively. *Census Bulletin, No. 165* (Feb. 19, 1892), on "Population of Places Having 1,000 Inhabitants or More in 1890," furnishes the last column. Of the 62,622,250 population, 18,988,568 were in the 124 cities of over 25,000; 4,294,817 in the 324 cities of 8,000 to 25,000; 2,511,911 in the 457 towns of 4,800 to 1,918,169 in the 617 villages of 2,500 to 4,000; 3,891,609 in the 2,198 places of 1,000 to 2,500.

The table does not include Indian Territory and Alaska, which were subjects of separate investigation (*Bulletins Nos. 25 and 150*). Indian Territory population was 74,997; Alaska's, 31,795, of whom 4,303 are white, 28,274 Indians, 2,287 Mongolian, the rest being mixed.

HANDBOOK OF Prohibition Facts.

Consumption of Alcoholic Liquors.

The United States Bureau of Statistics estimates the consumption of distilled spirits, wines, and fermented liquors, domestic and imported, in the United States, for each year since 1870 and for the census years 1840, 1850, and 1860, as follows:

Year Ended June 30.	TOTAL CONSUMPTION OF			PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF		
	Distilled Spirits.	Wines.	Malt Liquors.	Dis- tilled Spirits.	Wines.	Malt Liquors.
	<i>Pr. galls.</i>	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>Pr. galls</i>	<i>Galls.</i>	<i>Gallons</i>
1840....	43,060,884	4,873,096	23,310,843	2.52	0.29	1.36
1850....	51,833,473	6,315,871	36,563,009	2.23	0.27	1.58
1860....	89,968,651	11,059,141	101,346,699	2.86	0.35	3.22
1870....	79,965,708	12,225,067	204,765,156	2.07	0.32	5.30
1871....	64,059,661	15,834,063	241,138,127	1.62	0.40	6.09 *
1872....	68,422,280	16,682,037	270,298,916	1.68	0.41	6.65
1873....	68,037,139	18,847,031	300,607,262	1.63	0.45	7.27
1874....	64,540,090	20,468,714	299,521,065	1.51	0.48	6.99
1875....	66,120,558	19,901,330	294,953,157	1.50	0.45	6.71
1876....	59,933,890	20,161,808	308,336,287	1.23	0.45	6.83
1877....	59,420,118	21,876,320	204,927,667	1.22	0.47	6.58
1878....	51,931,941	22,263,919	317,969,352	1.09	0.47	6.68
1879....	54,278,475	24,377,130	344,605,485	1.11	0.50	7.05
1880....	63,526,694	28,320,541	414,220,165	1.27	0.56	8.26
1881....	70,607,081	24,162,925	444,112,169	1.38	0.47	8.65
1882....	73,556,976	25,502,927	526,379,980	1.40	0.49	10.03
1883....	78,452,687	25,778,180	551,497,340	1.46	0.48	10.27
1884....	81,128,581	26,508,345	590,016,517	1.48	0.37	10.74
1885....	70,600,092	21,900,457	596,131,866	1.26	0.39	10.62
1886....	73,271,614	25,567,220	642,787,720	1.26	0.45	11.20
1887....	71,064,733	32,325,061	717,748,854	1.21	0.58	11.23
1888....	75,845,352	36,335,068	767,587,056	1.26	0.61	12.80
1889....	80,613,158	34,144,477	779,897,426	1.32	0.56	12.72
1890....	87,829,562	28,956,981	855,792,335	1.40	0.46	13.67
1891....	91,157,565	*	977,479,761	1.42	*	15.28

* The Bureau had been unable, at the time the 1891 figures were furnished, to procure a reliable estimate of the wine consumption for 1891. The amount imported was 5,297,560, against 5,060,073 in 1890.

The large consumption *per capita* of distilled spirits in 1840, 1850, and 1860 is due partly to the fact that the use of alcohol for mechanical purposes was more general before the high Internal Revenue tax

was placed upon it. It has been replaced by other materials, and the increase in spirits from 1880 to the present represents chiefly an increase for beverage purposes.

Consumption of Alcohol.

Distilled spirits (proof) average 50 per cent. alcohol; wines average probably 12 per cent; fermented liquors, 5 per cent. On this basis the consumption of alcohol in the United States for the year 1890 was 90,179,235 gallons, or 1.44 gallons per capita.*

Arts, Manufactures, and Medicine.

Distilled Liquors.—The Census Department, in a bulletin (No. 22) issued Jan. 22, 1891, gives what purports to be the "Quantity of Distilled Spirits Used in the Arts, Manufactures, and Medicine," for the calendar year 1880, as follows: Alcohol, 6,745,153 proof gallons; Cologne Spirits, 1,453,048; High Wines, 75,992; Whiskey, 2,023,900; Brandy, 266,874; Rum, 189,581; Gin, 222,295; Aggregate, 10,976,822. This is 12.5 per cent. of the estimated consumption of distilled spirits for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1890. This is too high, because it includes all sales through the retail drug trade and all patent medicines, many of which are but thinly disguised beverages; nevertheless, since it is official it will be used as the basis of calculation in this work.

Wine and Beer.—There are no estimates that are reliable. The amount of wines and fermented liquors prescribed by physicians might with propriety be classed as beverages rather than as medicines. But the quantity of liquors so used is undoubtedly counterbalanced by the quantity manufactured outside of trade estimates, for home consumption and otherwise.

Consumption of Liquor by States.

Distilled Spirits.—There are no entirely reliable statistics of the amount of distilled liquor consumed in the several States and Territories. The Internal Revenue reports give only the collections from the *manufacture*, and the number of *dealers*, and two or three States are frequently combined in one district (this is the case with every Prohibition State except Iowa), so that the facts, especially about those States where the business is smallest, are rendered difficult to get at. On page 21 are given the total collections from the manufacture of distilled spirits and from special taxes on dealers is the same. The semi-Prohibition State of New Hampshire (including

* Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics (1890) gives the percentages of alcohol contained in some of the principal alcoholic beverages as follows:

Beer	4.0	Rhine	11.0	Malaga	17.3	Aniseed	33.9
Porter	4.5	Bordeaux	11.5	Sherry	19.0	Chartreuse	44.0
Ale	7.4	Hock	11.6	Vermouth	19.0	Gin	51.5
Cider	8.6	Champagne	12.2	Marsala	20.2	Brandy	53.4
Moselle	9.6	Claret	13.3	Madeira	21.0	Rum	53.5
Tokay	10.2	Burgundy	13.3	Port	23.2	Scotch Whiskey	54.3

from outside, for the percentage of liquor dealers to population, as will be seen from the table on page 24, is much smaller than in license States of the same group.

<u>Maine, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.14</u>
<u>Vermont, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.12</u>
<u>Massachusetts, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.21</u>
<u>Connecticut, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.44</u>
<u>Rhode Island, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.50</u>
<u>New Hampshire, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.42</u>
<u>New York, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.67</u>
<u>New Jersey, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.57</u>
<u>Pennsylvania, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.33</u>

New Hampshire, since it does not prohibit the manufacture or importation of liquors should not be classed as a Prohibition State, especially in the present comparison. It was done above (in the comparison of collections from spirits) because the New Hampshire collection district includes the two Prohibition States of Maine and Vermont, and they were not given separately. The large number of "dealers" (see note (*) on next page) in New Hampshire is not to be wondered at considering the many loop-holes in the New Hampshire law, and the laxity of its enforcement.

Iowa and Kansas, likewise, compared with nearby license States, make the following showing:

<u>Iowa, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.23</u>
<u>Kansas, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.12</u>
<u>Minnesota, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.28</u>
<u>Wisconsin, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.45</u>
<u>Illinois, percentage of dealers to population.....</u>	<u>.41</u>

To appreciate the full force of these comparisons, it should be remembered that a liquor dealer in a Prohibition State, unless he be a druggist or an agent appointed by the authorities to sell for legitimate purposes, is an outlaw, liable at any minute to have his business interrupted, his stock of liquors seized and destroyed, and to be himself

confined in jail.* It is scarcely believable that he could dispose of as large an amount of liquor as a dealer protected by a State license and free to sell openly over a bar. If the liquor business in Prohibition States were lucrative, the number of dealers would be likely to increase as different men "learned the ropes" instead of decreasing as it has done in Iowa and Kansas.

In 1884, the year before the prohibitory law was passed in
Iowa, the equated number of dealers was..... 4,323

In 1890, it was..... 3,508

In 1886, the year before the Injunction Clause† was added to
the Kansas law, the equated number of dealers in the State
was 2,347

In 1890, it was..... 1,429

This, it will be observed, is an *absolute* decrease in the number of dealers in Iowa of 19 per cent. in six years, and in the number of dealers in Kansas, of 39 per cent. in ten years, notwithstanding the increase in population. The relative decrease may be represented as follows:

The percentage of dealers to population in Iowa in 1884‡ was.. .95

The percentage in 1890 was..... 1.17

The percentage of dealers to population in Kansas in 1880 was .24

The percentage in 1890 was..... 1.10

* Hon. Neal Dow is authority for the statement that at one time, a few years ago, there were in the Portland, Maine, Jail, 40 of the special taxpayers, who figure in the Internal Revenue Reports, as "liquor-dealers" in that Prohibition State. (See Prohibition, the Principle, the Policy, and the Party, page 117).

† The Injunction feature of the prohibitory laws of Kansas, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota provides that the premises of liquor sellers or liquor manufacturers may be closed by injunction, without the tedious delay of trial by jury, and is regarded as one of the most necessary features of an efficient prohibitory law.

‡ This is allowing a population in 1884 of 1,728,107, which is obtained by deducting from the number shown by the State Census of 1885 (1,753,990), one-fifth of the increase from 1880 to 1885.

§ The difference between these figures for the percentage of dealers to population in 1890 and the figures given on the preceding page is due to the fact that the present figures refer to the *equated* number of dealers, not including brewers, whereas the others referred to the *actual* number, including that class. The actual number for 1884 and 1890 were not obtainable for comparison.

Fermented Liquors.—The liquor trade papers each year publish statistics of the sales of fermented liquors in the various States and Territories. The following table is taken from the *Brewers' Journal*, of New York City, for July, 1891:

SALES OF MALT LIQUORS IN THE STATES AND TERRITORIES FOR THE FISCAL YEARS ENDED APRIL 30, 1886 TO 1891.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>
Alabama...	7,156	12,740	14,900	18,075	30,713	30,005
Alaska...	355	414	472	708	773	1,186
Arizona...	1,227	909	730	834	683	459
Arkansas...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California...	506,968	572,114	632,520	726,511	724,018	767,229
Colorado...	99,590	117,021	142,587	163,514	179,934	203,707
Connecticut...	124,852	144,061	176,459	189,878	211,451	224,271
Dakotas...	42,394	46,884	47,932	39,763	32,386	9,444
Delaware...	21,200	27,517	33,914	34,779	34,755	45,581
D. of Col'b'a	67,717	83,442	93,219	105,017	110,447	112,329
Florida...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia...	10,642	4,570	3,221	12,160	32,555	51,723
Idaho...	5,141	5,332	5,656	5,850	6,193	5,854
Illinois...	1,317,233	1,606,362	1,888,697	2,002,858	2,182,678	2,606,916
Indiana...	363,087	423,688	469,096	485,095	493,087	563,572
Iowa...	197,372	188,464	174,389	112,470	88,266	105,943
Kansas...	17,482	16,498	15,235	9,700	2,700	2,050
Kentucky...	261,821	280,120	302,895	294,947	308,436	355,394
Louisiana...	140,616	131,873	122,860	135,407	194,637	216,565
Maine...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland...	396,348	435,084	497,306	518,414	541,641	554,334
Massach'ts	880,286	990,670	1,010,576	1,017,191	953,467	990,435
Michigan...	420,691	464,227	526,226	519,913	540,426	604,557
Minnesota...	301,040	325,439	317,742	313,074	325,819	364,433
Mississippi...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri...	1,176,862	1,387,920	1,539,732	1,648,112	1,801,693	2,038,326
Montana...	21,705	24,254	26,437	32,180	33,233	37,277
Nebraska...	84,838	108,756	124,158	136,681	129,916	146,341
Nevada...	7,025	7,123	7,593	9,076	5,873	6,025
N. Hamp's'e	832,960	805,920	853,505	327,193	397,083	365,229
N. Jersey...	1,034,901	1,171,349	1,312,266	1,353,615	1,496,288	1,609,530
N. Mexico...	6,068	5,967	5,008	5,625	5,985	6,282
New York...	6,847,271	7,370,139	7,890,181	8,139,282	8,435,111	9,088,109
N. Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio...	1,742,566	1,925,257	2,201,689	2,113,772	2,301,413	2,630,028
Oregon...	31,870	43,318	49,654	63,802	87,782	94,199
Pennsylv'a	2,089,531	2,207,085	2,496,386	2,364,924	2,658,195	3,118,326
Rhode Isl'd	57,951	65,680	75,754	74,378	80,266	101,373
S. Carolina...	14,082	15,253	13,810	9,911	9,685	9,040
Tennessee...	20,124	30,640	36,571	45,193	62,013	80,121
Texas...	31,781	38,257	49,714	54,106	60,685	84,309
Utah...	22,490	27,650	31,425	31,441	32,782	38,945
Vermont...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia...	34,060	35,530	49,160	47,390	50,490	53,963
Washing'tn	20,652	21,280	26,483	41,091	68,815	129,647
W. Virginia	74,873	93,138	103,370	100,315	115,877	133,323
Wisconsin...	1,450,961	1,605,144	1,697,740	1,789,513	1,981,901	2,403,640
Wyoming...	2,948	2,316	2,450	2,517	2,593	1,399
Totals....	20,280,020	22,460,345	24,569,082	25,098,765	26,820,953	30,021,079

The same periodical gives these statistics of sales of malt liquors for the same period in principal cities:

CITIES.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
Albany, N. Y.	367,960	376,430	379,178	385,988	393,707	395,303
Baltimore, Md.	385,033	431,057	481,943	515,965	537,993	540,951
Boston, Mass.	811,084	906,953	867,039	873,974	833,278	865,416
Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,018,883	1,179,777	1,327,358	1,340,449	1,508,144	1,702,106
Buffalo, N. Y.	365,635	427,472	462,985	466,206	492,873	590,783
Chicago, Ill.	873,995	1,172,827	1,366,709	1,490,850	1,673,685	2,034,698
Cincinnati, Ohio.	871,876	983,281	1,089,002	1,049,979	1,115,053	1,254,848
Cleveland, Ohio.	241,847	274,908	332,155	320,008	356,284	439,064
Detroit, Mich.	222,740	252,331	277,592	261,913	278,953	320,893
Louisville, Ky. ....	.....	.....	.....	196,457	200,916	231,718
Milwaukee, Wis.	1,115,102	1,218,812	1,286,121	1,364,980	1,527,032	1,877,157
Newark, N. J.	694,006	791,765	878,869	889,557	1,008,524	1,015,542
New Orleans, La. ....	.....	.....	.....	182,579	206,121	199,059
New York City.	3,662,214	4,003,560	4,244,791	4,253,759	4,257,978	4,448,314
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,306,405	1,371,387	1,409,478	1,296,458	1,458,846	1,705,915
Pittsburgh, Pa.	195,541	247,162	304,304	289,784	338,387	433,443
Rochester, N. Y.	289,582	323,383	341,796	427,926	427,533	514,080
San Francisco, Cal.	353,260	395,479	407,675	478,432	479,217	509,234
St. Louis, Mo.	1,079,392	1,253,305	1,407,744	1,496,527	1,613,215	1,824,950
Syracuse, N. Y. ....	.....	.....	.....	187,364	202,870	235,707
Toledo, Ohio.	200,405	214,959	236,805	230,472	246,488	276,069
Troy, N. Y. ....	.....	.....	.....	194,133	194,447	215,406

The foregoing figures do not accurately represent the *consumption* of fermented liquors, although these, owing to their bulkiness, are much more generally consumed near the place of manufacture than distilled liquors.

Drink Bill of the United States.

The cost to consumers of the alcoholic beverages consumed in the United States in the year 1891, applying to the figures of the Bureau of Statistics (page 5) accepted estimates of the average retail price of drinks, is as follows:

<i>91,157,565 gallons of distilled spirits, plus 25 per cent. to reduce the 50 per cent. proof strength required by the Internal Revenue laws to 40 per cent., the usual retail strength; less 12½ per cent. for medicinal, mechanical, and other legitimate purposes; at \$6 a gallon.....</i>	<i>\$ 598,221,519</i>
<i>977,479,761 gallons, or 31,531,605 barrels of fermented liquors, at \$18 a barrel.....</i>	<i>567,568,890</i>
<i>28,956,981* gallons of wines, which will undoubtedly retail, on an average, at \$2 a gallon.....</i>	<i>57,913,962</i>
Total.....	\$1,223,704,371

This does not allow for adulteration, for illicit distilling, for smuggled liquors, for home-made cider and wines, or for fancy prices paid

* Figures for 1890—those for 1891 not being obtainable.

in many places for drinks. These will undoubtedly offset any error in the other direction by reason of consumers purchasing in large quantities and paying less than the retail prices as here estimated. Liberal allowance is made, moreover, for spirits used in the arts, manufactures, and medicine. The national drink bill for 1891 was in round numbers \$1,200,000,000, and that figure is used in this work as the amount of the annual drink bill.

Drink Compared with other Issues.

The Drink Bill of the United States for 1891, according to the foregoing estimate was.....	\$1,200,000,000
The aggregate interest-bearing and non-interest bearing public debt of the United States, not including Treasury certificates and notes, December 1, 1891, was....	977,739,986
The aggregate capital of the National Banks of the United States in 1891, was.....	660,108,361
The total net earnings of the National Banks of the United States in 1891, were.....	75,703,614
The Durable Merchandise imported into the United States in 1891, was.....	278,074,844
The total collections of Tariff revenue from imports in 1891, was.....	210,521,305
The total expenses of the United States Government for all purposes in 1891, were *.....	437,436,368
The amount paid for Pensions to Soldiers, Sailors, and their families, and others, in 1891, was.....	124,415,951
The cost of maintaining the War and Navy Departments 1891, was.....	74,833,951
The aggregate loss of property by fire in the United States in 1891, according to the Chronicle fire tables, was.....	131,360,400
The net earnings of all the railroads of the United States in 1890, were †.....	343,921,313
The amount of money that would have to be put in circulation each year for four years—as soon as it could possibly be accomplished, if all Government expenses were paid in the new issue—in order to bring the circulation up to \$50 per capita, is.....	485,000,000
Behring Sea Seal Skins sold in the London market in 26 years, including most of those taken by poachers, about which the United States and Great Britain have had so much trouble.....	30,000,000

* This includes the expenses of the Postal Department and a few other items not included in "ordinary expenditures," as given on page 22.

† Poor's Railway Manual for 1890.

Indirect Cost of the Drink Traffic.

1. *Loss of Productive Power.*—A drunken workman wastes time, spoils material, delays others, and demoralizes a whole establishment. Employers of labor in nearly every productive industry have to make liberal allowances for this loss of productive power, and, it may be fairly assumed, to charge higher prices than they would have to charge with the same force of men all sober. In a table published in the *Voice* of May 14, 1891, 27 establishments in various lines of productive industries and employing in the aggregate over 9,000 workmen, replied to questions with regard to their experience along this line: and the 10 who had made estimates placed their loss of productive power from drink at from 8 to 33½ per cent. Suppose the loss averages for productive industries throughout the whole country 8 per cent. The total product of such industries is about \$7,250,000,000* annually; and the loss therefore would be about \$580,000,000.

2. *Pauperism.*—The Census of 1890 gives 73,045 as the number of paupers in almshouses; the average cost of their support may be placed, at a low estimate, at \$100 per year, making a cost to the taxpayers who support the institutions of \$7,304,500. In the State of New York, the cost of out-door relief is about two-thirds as much as the cost of maintaining paupers in almshouses; and if the same proportion holds good throughout the entire country, the total cost for out-door relief would be about \$4,869,700. Three-fourths of this Pauperism is estimated by the "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition" as due to intemperance, on which basis the cost of supporting drink paupers is \$9,129,600 annually.

3. *Crime.*—The amount annually raised by taxation to defend the community against the ravages of crime was estimated by Fred. H. Wines to be in 1880, \$50,000,000†. The amount certainly increases as rapidly as the population, which would give for 1890 about \$62,430,000. The statistics of crime show (see pages 29 to 35) that at least 75 per cent. is due to drink: therefore the cost of defending community against drink crimes, according to this exceedingly low estimate, is about \$46,822,000.

4. *Insanity.*—The Census returns for 1890, show 91,152 insane persons in the United States confined in public and 6,383 in private institutions. The cost of maintaining the public institutions was \$13,818,463, an average of about \$152 for each inmate. If the cost in private asylums averaged one-half more, the total for all institutions, public and private, was about \$15,465,000. If one-fourth the sum be set down as due to drink, it would make \$3,866,000. This does not by

* Muhlhall's Dictionary of Statistics gives the total manufactures of the United States for 1888 as \$7,215,000,000. Of this, \$305,000,000 is beer and spirits, which is deducted; and 5 per cent. added for increase from 1883 to 1890.

† That this is a low estimate will be seen by comparing with the police expenses of the 15 cities given in the table on page 35. These 15 cities contained in 1890, 7,832,990 population, or 43 per cent. of the population contained in cities having over 8,000 population, and 12½ per cent. of the entire population of the country; and their total expenses for maintaining their police departments alone, to say nothing of courts, penitentiaries, county jails, reformatories, etc., were over \$16,000,000.

Materials Used in the Production of Liquors.

Distilled.—By far the largest part of the distilled liquors produced are made from grain. The amount of grain used by registered distilleries in the United States for the year ended June 30, 1890, is reported by the United States Internal Revenue Bureau, by States, as follows:

STATES.	Malt.	Rye.	Corn.	*Other Materials.	Total.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>
Alabama.....	293	74	2,323	25	2,715
Arkansas.....	3,018	1,708	81,101	84	85,971
California.....	4,594	17,398	.....	52	22,030
Connecticut.....	10,654	20,226	27,810	296	58,986
Georgia.....	21,644	28	128,428	.....	150,100
Illinois.....	732,151	337,845	6,188,163	758	7,258,917
Indiana.....	139,586	94,299	1,169,537	80,356	1,433,778
Iowa.....	95	317	.....	.....	729
Kentucky.....	919,310	1,449,067	6,075,330	16,027	8,459,734
Maryland.....	57,813	534,514	49,221	2,294	643,842
Massachusetts.....	836	10,955	9,491	.....	21,282
Minnesota.....	62,967	15,185	628,334	178	706,684
Missouri.....	34,858	19,098	395,287	9,016	458,259
Nebraska.....	59,145	18,299	493,644	.....	571,088
New Jersey.....	26,350	39,525	39,525	.....	105,400
New York.....	108,935	208,559	209,107	414	527,075
North Carolina.....	25,975	35,371	207,834	896	270,076
Ohio.....	277,257	286,116	1,525,201	21,581	2,110,409
Pennsylvania.....	190,335	1,272,167	133,319	2,222	1,598,043
South Carolina.....	968	303	8,932	.....	10,203
Tennessee.....	45,043	36,652	364,248	9,701	456,544
Texas.....	252	317	2,352	210	3,131
Virginia.....	3,342	18,470	37,681	106	59,599
West Virginia.....	10,311	77,860	5,011	.....	93,182
Wisconsin.....	19,673	48,437	74,416	2,589	145,115
Total.....	2,756,335	4,542,845	17,806,612	97,059	23,202,901

*The "other materials" are: wheat, 20,310 bushels; oats, 32,690 bushels; mill-feed, 41,840 bushels; barley, 963 bushels; not specified in Internal Revenue Report, 1,254 bushels.

The average number of gallons of spirits, therefore, from each bushel of grain was 4.27.

In addition to the grain used, there were 2,198,538 gallons of molasses used in the distillation of rum (2,020,200 gallons in Massachusetts, 132,538 gallons in Kentucky, 43,940 gallons in New Hampshire, and 1,860 gallons in Pennsylvania), the average yield of rum from each gallon of molasses being .754 gallon. There are no figures given for the amount of apples, peaches and grapes used in the production of the 609,041 gallons of apple brandy, 108,764 gallons of peach brandy, and 1,108,005 gallons of grape brandy produced in the same year (1890); but from data furnished by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and the editor of *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular* (see page 18), it is fair to estimate that about 1,218,063 bushels of apples, 217,528 bushels of peaches and 33,000 to 37,334 tons of grapes were used.

Fermented.—Professor Francis Wyatt, Director of the National Brewers' Academy of New York City, is authority for the estimate

that it requires an average of two bushels of malt and two pounds of hops to produce a barrel of beer. On that basis, the 27,561,944 barrels of fermented liquors manufactured in this country in 1890 required 55,123,888 bushels of malt—equivalent to 46,304,066 bushels of barley (.84 bushel of barley producing one bushel of malt), and 55,123,888 pounds of hops.

Wines.—A Census bulletin issued March 10, 1891 (No. 38), places the quantity of grapes sold to wineries in the country in 1889 at 304,544 tons, and the amount of wine made at 24,306,905 gallons. The grapes reported as sold to wineries were not all used to make wine. Some were used for brandy, others for raisins. The amount used other than for wine is comparatively insignificant, however.

Cattle Fed on Distillery and Brewery Refuse.

Cattle-feeding has grown into an important feature of the distilling and brewing business. The grain used, after going through the various processes, is either fed to cattle kept in yards about the establishment, or sold to farmers for feed. The Internal Revenue Bureau reports the statistics of cattle and hogs fed at registered grain distilleries and their increase in weight. The statistics for the year ended June 30, 1890, are as follows:

STATES.	No. of cattle fed.	Total increase in weight.	Av. inc. in wt.	No. of hogs fed.	Total increase in weight.	Av. inc. in wt.	Total inc. in wt. of cattle and hogs.
		<i>Pounds.</i>	<i>Lbs.</i>		<i>Pounds.</i>	<i>Lbs.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>
Alabama.....	.....	.....	.....	250	6,500	26	6,526
Arkansas.....	185	42,950	232+	1,499	134,900	89+	177,850
Connecticut....	100	20,000	200	.....	.....	.....	20,000
Georgia.....	500	70,000	140	4,300	421,400	98	491,400
Illinois.....	25,431	6,114,525	240+	.....	.....	.....	6,114,525
Indiana.....	5,300	1,436,800	276+	213	20,310	95+	1,457,110
Kentucky.....	23,221	4,696,358	202+	6,095	523,839	87+	5,220,197
Maryland.....	67	17,000	253+	101	10,950	108+	27,950
Massachusetts	100	30,000	300+	20	4,000	200	34,000
Minnesota.....	4,000	600,000	150	.....	.....	.....	600,000
Missouri.....	18	5,400	300	2,100	124,026	59+	129,000
Nebraska.....	2,229	504,000	226+	.....	.....	.....	504,000
New Jersey....	342	87,210	255	.....	.....	.....	87,210
New York.....	560	140,000	250	.....	.....	.....	140,000
North Carolina	229	20,580	89+	2,172	148,060	68+	168,640
Ohio.....	1,598	480,191	300+	896	135,800	151+	615,991
Pennsylvania..	1,245	254,133	204+	14,371	1,029,305	71+	1,283,438
South Carolina	125	20,615	161+	439	27,662	63+	48,277
Tennessee.....	1,638	360,915	220+	7,076	557,887	78+	918,802
Texas.....	8	1,200	150	196	5,450	27+	6,650
Virginia.....	22	5,860	266+	1,132	109,012	92+	114,872
West Virginia..	.....	.....	.....	27	1,860	68+	1,860
Wisconsin.....	355	77,100	317+	10	2,500	250	79,600
Total.....	67,173	14,984,837	223+	40,947	3,273,461	70+	18,258,298

How much of the refuse from the 25,202,901* bushels of grain used by these distilleries is fed at the distilleries, and how much sold or

* 24,761,634 bushels, if instead of the 2,756,385 bushels of malt, the quantity of barley required to produce that amount of malt be taken.

given away to farmers and others cannot be ascertained. But the amount of corn, at first hand, required to produce the increase in weight reported above would be, according to an estimate made by Prof. W. A. Henry in the *Voice* of October 30, 1890, 2,252,943 bushels (besides the hay necessary to be fed in connection with either the fresh grain or the distillery refuse in order to produce the best results). If it be allowed that one-third of the bulk of the grain is lost in the process of distilling and in waste, and that distillery refuse has one-half the flesh-making power of fresh grain, there are still 12,296,000 bushels of the distillery refuse to be accounted for, which is largely sold or given away for feed. The 46,304,066 bushels of grain estimated to be used (see page 16) in the production of fermented liquors, deducting one-third for waste, would give about 31,000,000 bushels of brewery refuse. The number of cattle fed in brewery yards cannot be ascertained, but it is doubtless as great as the number fed in distillery yards. If so, about 4,500,000 bushels of brewery refuse are fed at the breweries, and the other 26,500,000 bushels are sold, given away, or wasted. In all, some 48,000,000 bushels of distillery and brewery refuse are thrown upon the market to compete with grain as a food for cattle.

Effects of Distillery and Brewery Refuse on the Market for Grain, Beef and Pork.

The placing on the market of these 48,000,000 bushels of refuse, at a small price, as a food for cattle and hogs, has a two-fold tendency: (1) to reduce the price of first-hand grain for feeding purposes; (2) to reduce the price of beef and pork. In either case, it must be a serious loss to the farmer. If the result were effected without deteriorating the quality of meat, it could not be regarded as an economic loss. But distillery-fed and brewery-fed beef and pork are of a decidedly inferior quality,* and the decrease in price is accomplished at the expense of the farmers' market for wholesome feed, on the one hand, and at the expense of the health of the purchaser of the meat, on the other hand. The extent of the farmers' loss may be imagined when it is considered that a reduction of one cent per bushel on the average price of corn would mean a loss of \$21,000,000, or more than the value of the grain purchased by the breweries and distilleries; or that a reduction of one-fourth of a cent a pound on the beef and pork sold in 1890 would mean a loss of considerably more than the farmers of the country receive from the traffic.†

* Mr. G. Hulbert, editor of *Farm, Home, and Factory*, St. Louis, Mo., in the *Voice* of April 23, 1891, wrote: "By actual test, I have seen it proven that brewery slops produce very bad, slimy, and even poisonous milk, and I am assured on good authority, that it does not nourish healthy tissue in beef." Several other agricultural specialists in the same paper with equal emphasis condemn slop-fed beef and pork.

† The Secretary of Agriculture in his report for 1890, pages 302 to 304, gives the number of cattle, sheep, and hogs received at the markets of Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Omaha in 1890 as follows: Cattle, 6,302,222; sheep, 3,213,223; hogs, 13,562,102. If the cattle be estimated as weighing 1,200 pounds each and the hogs as weighing 300 pounds each, a loss of one-fourth of a cent would amount to \$28,777,242. But the number received at those four cities do not represent nearly all the cattle and hogs slaughtered for the year—probably not more than half.

Value of Materials Used in Alcoholic Liquors.

The value of the materials used in the production of spirituous, malt, and vinous liquors in the United States, in 1890, may be summarized and compared with the total product for the same year, as follows:

	Average Price.	Amount used in Production of Liquors.	Estimated Value.	Total Product.	Per Cent. used for Liquors.
Corn, bushels	.283	17,827,532	\$5,045,192	2,112,892,000	.008
Rye, "	.457	4,542,845	2,076,080	28,415,000	7.11
Barley, "	.427	45,705,490	19,516,244	64,884,000	4.27
Wheat, "	.698	20,310	14,176	490,560,000	} infinitesimal
Oats, "	.290	58,610	12,330	751,515,000	
Molasses, gals	.460	2,198,538	1,011,328	22,000,000	10.
Hops, lbs....	.108	55,123,888	5,677,760	39,171,279	161.
Apples, bush.	.500	1,218,083	609,042	.....	} very small.
Peaches, "	1.000	217,028	217,028	.....
Grapes, tons.	40.330	304,986	12,300,085	572,139	53.

N. B.—Since it is the materials used in 1890 that are being considered above, the figures for the crop of 1889 are used. The statistics of grain are furnished by the Secretary of Agriculture. The 41,840 bushels of mill-feed (see page 15) is regarded as half *oats* and half *corn*, and, accordingly, 20,920 bushels is added to the amount of each of those grains. The quantity of *barley* is the amount required to produce the malt given in the Internal Revenue statistics and in the formula for beer. The price of *molasses* is the average price in the New York market for the year 1889, and the amount of the total product is estimated, the amount in 1889 being 21,980,000. The figures for the total production of *hops* are taken from Census Bulletin No. 143, dated November 12, 1891. The importation of hops in 1889 was 4,176,178 pounds; and the exportation was 12,589,262, making 8,413,084 pounds to be deducted from the figures given, or only 30,768.16 pounds, whereas the formula for beer requires nearly twice that amount. This may be taken to indicate the extent to which beer is adulterated by the substitution of other material than hops. *Apples* do not include amount used in making cider. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue estimates about two bushels of apples to a gallon of brandy. *Peaches* are regarded as yielding the same proportion. There is no way of estimating the total crop of apples or peaches. Charles McK. Loeser, editor of *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular*, estimates that a ton of grapes yields 27 to 30 gallons of brandy, so that the grape brandy produced in 1890 required 33,600 to 37,334 tons. These were, doubtless, largely included in the amount classified by Census Bulletin No. 38 (see page 16), as "sold to wineries," which amount is used in the table.

Estimated value of the materials (very liberal), \$46,479,265.

What the Farmer Loses Through the Traffic.

The \$1,200,000,000 annually spent for liquor in the United States, if turned into channels of useful industry, would give to the farmer a much larger market for grain and produce than he receives from the liquor traffic. The greater part of the 2,500,000 or more drunkards* is the United States spend for drink all they earn beyond a mere existence, and that they owe largely to charity. It is safe to estimate that:

*The statistics of crime in the 15 largest cities of the United States (page 34) show about 840,000 arrests for drunkenness and drink offences. These undoubtedly do not represent as large a number of persons as that, as some are arrested more than once. On the other hand, not one drunkard in five, probably, is arrested. At the same ratio of drunkards to population there would be 2,720,000. We take the round number 2,500,000, which corresponds closely with the conservative estimate made in 1888, by Mr. Wheeler in "Prohibition, the Principle, the Policy, and the Party" (p. 66).

they spend \$5 a week for drink, to obtain which they deprive themselves and their families of the ordinary necessities of decent living. On that basis, these 2,500,000 spend \$650,000,000 or about half the amount spent annually for drink in this country. Now, suppose that, instead of spending that amount for liquor, they buy of the farmer:

15,000,000 barrels of flour, at \$7.....	\$70,000,000
30,000,000 bushels of potatoes, at \$1.....	30,000,000
300,000,000 pounds of beef and pork at 8c.....	24,000,000
100,000,000 dozens of eggs at 20c.....	20,000,000
150,000,000 pounds of butter, at 20c.....	30,000,000
120,000,000 gallons of milk, at 20c.....	24,000,000
10,000,000 barrels of apples, at \$3.....	30,000,000
Other fruit.....	15,000,000
Vegetables and garden truck.....	10,000,000
Poultry, etc.....	20,000,000

And they have paid into the farmers' pocket..... 273,000,000

In place of the..... 46,000,000

which the liquor traffic now pays, and will have left \$77,000,000 for clothing, boots and shoes, hardware, rent, furniture, fuel, etc.

This is not taking into account the moderate and free drinkers who spend the other \$550,000,000 of the annual drink bill, and who are assumed to be able to buy the bare necessities of life anyhow.

The Liquor Industry and Labor.

At the present writing, the Census Bureau has not published any general statistics of manufactures in 1890. Bulletins Nos. 158 and 170 relate to manufactures in the District of Columbia and the City of St. Louis respectively. In the latter there are extensive brewing interests, \$15,910,417 being invested in that business, employing 2,870 persons, paying in wages \$2,273,104 a year. That is, for every \$5,544 of capital invested in the liquor business, one person is employed, and \$793.75 in wages paid. This compared with other leading industries reported in the same city makes the following showing:

Capital.	INDUSTRY.	Persons employed.	Wages paid (one year).
\$5,544	Boots and shoes.....	3.6	\$2,320
"	Bread and bakery products.....	6.3	3,496
"	Brick and tile.....	4.2	1,885
"	Carpentering.....	4.6	3,519
"	Carriages and wagons.....	5.0	2,800
"	Cars, making and repairing.....	6.6	4,164
"	Clothing, men's.....	7.0	2,840
"	Foundry and machine shop.....	3.4	2,077
"	Furniture and upholstery.....	4.8	2,880
"	Iron and steel.....	1.9	1,064
"	Liquors, malt.....	1.0	793
"	Lumber and mill products.....	1.8	712
"	Masonry, brick and stone.....	5.7	3,927
"	Printing and publishing.....	5.1	3,421
"	Saddlery and harness.....	3.1	2,070
"	All industries.....	3.0	1,734

The Census of 1880 showed that for each person employed in the liquor-making industry, \$3,504 was invested and \$448 was paid in wages. This is not nearly so good a showing as the malt liquor business makes, as shown by the bulletin of St. Louis.

In a tract entitled, "Liquor's War on Labor's Rights," John Lloyd Thomas has figured out, from the Census statistics of 1880, the following:

\$100 Spent in	Pays Labor in Wages	\$100 Spent in	Gives one man work
Liquor.....	\$1.23	Liquor.....	.8 day.
Boots and shoes.....	25.85	Boots and shoes.....	20.5 days
Furniture.....	29.48	Furniture.....	22.4 "
Carpenter'g and buildg.	26.03	Carpenter'g and buildg.	17.3 "
Bricks.....	40.85	Bricks.....	60.0 "
Carpets.....	22.08	Carpets.....	30.0 "
Clothing.....	21.82	Clothing.....	23.0 "
Cotton.....	21.10	Cotton goods.....	26.4 "
Woolen goods.....	16.07	Woolen goods.....	16.0 "
Sewing machines.....	33.33	Sewing machines.....	27.3 "
Books and papers.....	33.62	Books and papers.....	13.6 "
Worsted goods.....	16.41	Worsted goods.....	16.4 "
Bakery products.....	15.48	Bakery products.....	11.0 "
Flour.....	34.02	Flour.....	34.0 "

Practical Effect of Prohibition on Labor.

Will the money now spent for drink go into the channels of useful industry if the drink traffic is destroyed? is a question often raised. It is reasonable to suppose that it will, but here is the testimony of a paper that was never committed to the policy of Prohibition, the Atlanta, Ga., *Constitution* (June 21, 1887), after local Prohibition had been in effect in that city a year:

"Fifteen new stores containing house-furnishing goods have been started since Prohibition went into effect. These are doing well. More furniture has been sold to mechanics and laboring men in the last 12 months than in any 12 months during the history of the city. The manufacturing establishments of the city have received new life. A glass factory has been built. A cotton seed oil mill is being built, worth \$125,000. All improvement companies with a basis in real estate have seen their stock doubled in value since the election on Prohibition.

"Stores in which the liquor trade was conducted are not vacant, but are now occupied by other lines of trade. According to the real estate men more laborers and men of limited means are buying lots than ever before. Rents are more promptly paid than formerly. More houses are rented by the same number of families than heretofore. Before Prohibition, sometimes as many as three families would live in one house. The heads of those families not now spending their money for drink are enabled to rent a house, thus using three instead of one. Workingmen who formerly spent a great part of their money for liquor now spend it in food and clothes for their families. The retail grocery men sell more goods and collect their bills better than ever before. Thus they are able to settle more promptly with the wholesale men.

"A perceptible increase has been noticed in the number of people who ride on the street cars. According to the coal dealers, many people bought coal and stored it away last winter who had never been known to do so

before. Others who had been accustomed to buying two or three tons on time, this last winter bought seven or eight and paid cash for it. A leading proprietor of a millinery store said that he had sold more hats and bonnets to laboring men for their wives and daughters than before in the history of his business. Contractors say their men do better work, and on Saturday evenings, when they receive their week's wages, spend the same for flour, hams, drygoods, or other necessary things for their families. Thus they are in better spirits, have more hope, and are not inclined to strike and growl about higher wages."

For similar testimony about other places where Prohibition has been tried, see article on "Benefits of Prohibition" in the "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition" (pp. 499-559).

Government Revenue from Liquors.

Internal Revenue.—The National Government collects, through its Internal Revenue Department, a tax of 90 cents a gallon on all spirituous, and \$1 per barrel on all fermented, liquors of domestic manufacture—except those intended for scientific and export purposes. It also collects per annum from each dealer in spirituous liquors, retail, \$25; wholesale, \$100; from each dealer in fermented liquors, retail, \$20; wholesale, \$50; and from brewers of less than 500 barrels per year, \$50; of more, \$100. The Internal Revenue receipts from liquor and liquor manufacture, for the last three years, were:

	FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30.		
	1889.	1890.	1891.
Spirituous Liquors..	\$60,447,175.84	\$76,539,002.62	\$79,626,093.51
Fermented Liquors..	23,235,863.94	25,494,796.50	23,192,327.69
Liquor dealers (ret'l)	4,296,780.04	4,534,174.81	3,234,154.72
Liquor dealers (whl.)	391,975.28	421,788.57	303,590.23
Fermented liq. dealers (retail).....	139,792.38	147,673.16	108,512.91
Fermented liq. dealers (wholesale).....	169,584.90	193,154.61	145,131.30
Brewers.....	178,593.94	172,906.47	119,158.02
Rectifiers.....	166,645.77	184,700.09	164,004.77
Mfrs. of stills.....	4,376.70	5,248.70	5,678.32
Stamps for export liq.	5,252.70	2,512.30	2,442.10
Total.....	\$96,086,041.59	\$107,695,909.83	\$111,901,098.56

The apparent paradox of so great a decrease in the receipts from all classes of liquor dealers and so great an increase in the number of dealers (as shown on page 25), in 1891, is explained by the fact that an act of Congress passed October 1, 1890, provided for a change in the special tax year, which had before ended April 30, so as to make it correspond with the fiscal year ending June 30. Accordingly, the bulk of the receipts from dealers in 1891 came after the close of the fiscal year.

Customs Revenue.—In addition to the Internal Revenue receipts from liquors, the Government each year collects a considerable

revenue from imported liquors, as shown from the following table from the report of the Government Bureau of Statistics :

Year ended June 30.	DISTILLED SPIRITS.		WINES AND MALT LIQUORS.		TOTAL.	
	Value.	Ordinary Duty.	Value.	Ordinary Duty.	Value.	Ordinary Duty.
1887....	\$1,909,900	\$2,939,923	\$8,281,046	\$4,662,320	\$10,190,946	\$7,402,243
1888....	1,972,287	2,981,772	8,664,080	4,681,472	10,636,367	7,663,244
1889....	1,902,980	2,943,248	9,035,910	4,843,152	10,938,790	7,786,400
1890....	2,171,935	3,129,424	10,243,506	5,388,657	12,415,441	8,518,061
1891....	2,221,149	3,437,571	11,331,267	6,065,756	13,552,416	9,503,327

Revenue from Liquors Compared with Revenue from Other Sources.

The amount of revenue which the United States Government has received for each of the last three years, from various sources is as follows :

Year.	Total Revenue from Liquor.*	Internal Revenue from other sources.†	Total Customs Revenue.	Sales of Public Lands.	Miscel- laneous.	Total from all Sources.
1889.....	\$105,822,442	\$32,848,992	\$223,832,742	\$8,088,652	\$24,297,151	\$387,080,089
1890.....	116,213,991	34,898,787	229,664,585	6,368,273	24,447,420	403,080,983
1891.....	121,404,421	34,134,322	219,522,205	4,029,535	23,374,457	382,612,447

* Internal revenue and customs duties.

† There was \$32,758,991 collected from tobacco; \$1,077,942 from oleo-margarine; \$256,214 from penalties, and \$3,913 from miscellaneous sources in 1891.

NOTE.—The expenditures of the Government for the fiscal year 1891 were: War Department, \$48,720,065; Navy Department, \$26,113,598; Pensions, \$124,415,951; Indian Appropriations, \$3,527,469; Interest on public debt, \$37,547,135; Premium on loans, and purchase of bonds, etc., \$10,401,221; Other civil and miscellaneous items, \$110,048,167; total ordinary expenditures, \$365,773,905. These figures, and those in the last four columns of the table are taken from the "World Almanac" for 1892.

State and Municipal Revenue from the Traffic.

Of the 207,069 dealers paying the United States tax, about 141,000 are saloon-keepers (see page 25), and 10,000 more are wholesale dealers and brewers. The rest are chiefly illicit dealers who avoid State and local license taxes, or legitimate druggists, apothecaries, etc., who are for the most part exempted from the license laid on the beverage traffic. Of these 141,000 dealers, about 42,000 are in the distinctively Low License States of New York, California, Maryland, and Wisconsin, where the license fee will not average over \$150. About 34,000 are in the High License States of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Michigan, where license fees for the year 1890 probably averaged \$500. About 24,000 more were in the medium license States of Ohio, Indiana, Connecticut, Rhode Island,

and New Jersey, and averaged, say \$250. For the other 41,000 it is difficult to strike an average; but estimating that the average is the same as for the high license, low license, and medium license States named (\$292), the total State and local revenue would amount to \$41,272,000.

Internal Revenue from Liquors by States.

The following table, compiled from the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1890 and the United States Census reports for 1890, shows the aggregate collections from distilled and fermented liquors by States—that is, so far as the Internal Revenue Department reports them by the States—the third column including collections from spirituous liquors and dealers, rectifiers, manufacturers of stills, and stamps for export liquors; the fifth column including collections from fermented liquors and dealers, and from brewers.

States and Territories.	Population (1890)*	Collections from distill'd spirits.	Per capita from distill'd sp'ts	Collections from fermented liquors.	Per capita from ferment'd liq
Alabama.....	1,513,017	\$42,426.86	.028	\$33,868.06	.022
Arkansas.....	1,128,179	80,528.48	.071	1,679.15	.002
California (b)...	1,253,891	844,490.16	.673	707,361.40	.564
Colorado (c)....	473,903	74,377.10	.157	181,392.09	.384
Connecticut (d).	1,091,764	252,547.28	.232	283,691.03	.260
Florida.....	391,422	11,683.36	.030	1,140.83	.003
Georgia.....	1,837,352	474,675.62	.258	37,266.22	.020
Illinois.....	3,826,351	80,903,467.08	8.077	2,146,104.71	.561
Indiana.....	2,192,404	5,518,023.68	2.517	494,591.29	.226
Iowa.....	1,911,896	109,182.55	.057	99,270.35	.052
Kansas (i).....	1,563,927	43,690.72	.028	9,474.13	.006
Kentucky.....	1,858,635	14,045,498.88	8.042	307,507.11	.166
Louisiana (k)...	2,408,187	158,559.54	.066	190,855.81	.068
Maryland (m)...	1,441,275	1,313,448.30	.911	645,968.60	.448
Massachusetts...	2,238,043	1,108,916.13	.451	892,034.56	.398
Michigan.....	2,093,380	167,172.76	.080	537,832.24	.257
Minnesota.....	1,301,826	2,615,851.55	2.009	324,455.11	.249
Missouri.....	2,679,184	2,210,279.46	.825	1,759,525.87	.657
Montana (o)....	424,449	77,413.49	.182	75,422.60	.178
Nebraska (p)...	1,570,447	2,707,559.94	1.788	161,667.96	.103
N. Hampshire(r)	1,370,088	81,742.10	.060	360,218.89	.269
New Jersey.....	1,444,983	495,047.86	.343	1,432,210.13	.991
New Mexico (s)...	213,213	42,949.75	.201	9,632.04	.045
New York.....	5,997,853	2,730,078.28	.455	8,013,184.77	1.336
North Carolina...	1,617,947	730,169.19	.451	1,267.51	.001
Ohio.....	3,672,316	8,357,244.50	2.276	2,246,012.15	.612
Oregon (t).....	693,486	93,220.61	.136	169,263.11	.247
Pennsylvania...	5,258,014	3,359,918.19	.640	2,611,619.28	.497
South Carolina...	1,151,149	64,398.61	.056	9,571.30	.008
Tennessee.....	1,767,518	870,373.81	.492	65,117.70	.037
Texas.....	2,235,523	106,503.53	.048	86,894.77	.039
Virginia.....	1,655,980	269,160.68	.163	49,607.81	.030
West Virginia...	762,794	259,436.08	.340	113,146.18	.148
Wisconsin.....	1,686,880	667,021.17	.395	1,940,689.98	1.150
Totals.....	62,727,576*	\$81,687,375.09	1.302	26,008,534.74	.415

* The population figures are for the collection district and not for the State named alone. In the total is included the population of Indian Territory and Alaska, which are not counted in the total population as given out by the Census Bureau (62,622,250).

N. B.—For explanations of letters, see page 27.

Federal Permits.

The regulation and suppression of the liquor traffic is held to come within the police powers reserved to the States. The United States Government has no concern with the character of persons engaged in the business. It taxes them for revenue solely. Any other object in taxing them would be an assumption of police power. Accordingly, any person, be he saint or cutthroat, who has \$25, or whatever the amount may be, to pay, can satisfy the claims of the Government upon him as a "dealer" in spirituous liquors, and receive a "permit" to go ahead and sell, as far as the United States Government is concerned. This "permit," however, does not exempt him from the operation of State or local laws, nor shield him from the penalties of their violation. The Internal Revenue law governing this point is as follows (see Internal Revenue laws):

SEC. 3243. The payment of any tax imposed by the Internal Revenue laws for carrying on any trade or business shall not exempt any person from any penalty or punishment provided by the laws of any State for carrying on the same within such State, or in any manner authorize the commencement or continuance of such trade or business contrary to the laws of such State, or in places prohibited by municipal law; nor shall the payment of any such tax be held to prohibit any State from placing a duty or tax on the same trade or business, for State or other purposes.

This law has been in effect since 1884. The recent change in the form of the "Federal permit," by the order of the Treasury Department, did not change the law in any way.

All persons holding "permits" are classed by the Government as liquor dealers, and the next few tables have relation to such.

Number of Liquor Dealers.

The number (equated) of persons paying the Government tax for the privilege of selling liquors for each year from 1880 to 1890 inclusive is as follows:

YEAR.	LIQUOR DEALERS.				Brewers.	Rectifiers.	Total.
	SPIRITUOUS.		FERMENTED.				
	Retail.	W'sale.	Retail.	W'sale.			
1880.....	163,523	4,122	9,877	1,733	2,523	1,308	183,066
1881.....	170,640	4,112	8,536	2,034	1,723	1,266	183,311
1882.....	163,770	4,241	8,006	2,186	2,396	1,413	187,012
1883.....	187,871	4,647	7,998	2,582	2,216	1,460	206,774
1884.....	180,068	4,291	8,220	2,705	2,286	1,405	193,975
1885.....	182,318	4,199	8,076	2,705	2,202	1,286	201,386
1886.....	190,121	4,300	8,409	3,012	2,239	1,397	209,468
1887.....	188,107	4,241	8,685	3,309	2,219	1,347	207,908
1888.....	183,587	3,815	8,161	3,370	2,050	1,310	187,293
1889.....	184,806	3,712	6,933	3,195	2,066	1,261	181,963
1890.....	185,872	4,380	7,426	3,783	1,984	1,404	204,849

The difference between the *equated* and the *actual* number of liquor dealers is this: The equated number is found by dividing the total receipts for the year from a given class of dealers by the price *per year* charged for the privilege of selling. Thus, the *actual* number might be *six*, who took out permits for six months each, in which case the equated number would be *three*, representing the number who sold throughout an entire year's time. As the *actual* number of dealers is used in several cases in this work, they are given here for the last five years:

YEAR.	LIQUOR DEALERS.				Brewers.	Reetifiers.	Total.
	SPIRITUOUS.		FERMENTED.				
	Retail.	W'sale.	Retail.	W'sale.			
1887.....	188,107	4,241	8,685	3,309	2,269	1,383	207,994
1888.....	168,587	3,815	8,161	3,370	1,968	1,250	187,151
1889.....	188,675	4,080	7,899	3,603	2,144	1,368	207,769
1890.....	189,002	4,416	7,798	3,697	2,158	1,466	208,537
1891.....	230,408	4,869	10,389	5,089	2,138	1,626	254,469

The explanation of the great increase in all classes of dealers in 1891 is partly in the fact that the special tax year 1891 contained 14 months, (see page 27, note (†) to table), and many, therefore, are repeated.

Number of Saloons.

The number of "liquor dealers" reported by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue includes many apothecaries and others selling for legitimate purposes, and also many illicit dealers, who often risk violating State and local laws, but not so often United States laws. The ratio of regularly licensed saloons, as reported by State authorities, to liquor dealers, as reported by the Internal Revenue department, is as follows in Ohio and Missouri:

STATE.	Government Permits* (1890).	State Licenses (1890).	Per Cent.
Ohio.....	14,761	10,754	72.85
Missouri.....	7,114	4,546	63.91
Total.....	21,875	15,300	69.49

* Retail, only, and the *equated* number for special tax year.

The ratio, therefore, is about 7 to 10, and the number of saloons in the whole country about 141,800.

Liquor Dealers by States.

The number (actual) of persons who paid the Government tax for the privilege of manufacturing or selling intoxicating liquors in the several States and Territories for the special tax year ended April 30, 1890—corresponding most nearly with the Census year—was as follows:

States and Territories.	LIQUOR DEALERS.				Brewers.	Total.	Population to each Dealer.
	SPIRITUOUS.		FERMENTED.				
	Retail.	W'sale.	Retail.	W'sale.			
Alabama...	1,277	39	46	26	3	1,391	1,084
Alaska ....	.....	.....	1	2	3	6	5,055
Arizona...	669	14	13	20	10	726	88
Arkansas...	945	39	19	23	.....	1,026	1,097
California...	13,036	426	233	146	176	14,017	86
Colorado...	2,619	48	100	60	18	2,845	144
Connecticut	2,991	48	110	130	22	3,301	226
Dakota...	999	16	30	20	19	1,084	471
Delaware...	307	7	5	.....	4	323	520
Dist. of Col.	1,256	27	38	13	7	1,341	171
Florida....	441	14	33	9	.....	497	786
Georgia...	1,904	62	52	35	4	2,057	892
Idaho.....	562	8	9	9	21	609	138
Illinois....	14,127	274	731	245	124	15,501	246
Indiana...	6,914	64	264	134	59	7,435	294
Iowa.....	3,975	35	225	85	22	4,342	439
Kansas....	1,550	12	185	28	2	1,777	802
Kentucky..	4,414	224	146	45	29	4,858	383
Louisiana..	5,431	112	44	17	8	5,812	210
Maine.....	868	7	73	8	.....	956	691
Maryland..	3,439	92	63	32	32	3,658	294
Massach'ts	4,157	182	197	179	37	4,752	470
Michigan...	6,414	54	236	147	114	6,965	300
Minnesota..	3,181	72	129	103	113	3,598	361
Mississippi	1,107	16	160	16	.....	1,299	999
Missouri...	7,012	207	203	169	88	7,679	349
Montana...	2,160	58	42	32	29	2,321	57
Nebraska...	1,445	46	44	42	25	1,602	600
Nevada....	628	9	10	6	21	674	66
New Hamp	1,322	3	193	58	6	1,582	226
N'w Jersey	7,533	83	292	208	78	8,194	176
New Mex...	1,059	22	12	28	7	1,128	134
New York...	36,429	855	1,676	540	311	39,811	150
N. Carolina	1,593	25	19	12	.....	1,649	981
Ohio.....	13,791	326	250	277	141	14,785	246
Oregon....	1,217	40	42	39	48	1,396	228
Pennsylv'a	10,418	469	562	321	305	12,075	435
Rh. Island.	1,933	38	47	29	3	2,060	166
S. Carolina	984	17	14	11	1	1,027	1,117
Tennessee..	2,394	64	21	23	5	2,507	1,004
Texas.....	3,809	65	765	184	10	4,388	462
Utah.....	483	12	8	10	10	523	394
Vermont...	383	.....	16	4	.....	388	866
Virginia...	2,903	36	35	25	2	3,001	549
Wash'ton...	1,200	28	20	15	29	1,292	271
W. Virgn'a	938	11	56	9	7	1,021	746
Wisconsin..	6,634	102	325	114	194	7,372	226
Wyoming...	466	8	1	9	9	498	123
Totals...	189,002	4,416	7,798	3,679	2,156	207,069	308

Liquor Dealers by States for Seven Years.

The number (equated) of dealers in intoxicating liquors, spirituous and fermented, wholesale and retail—not including brewers and rectifiers*—for each of the last seven special tax years preceding 1891† (special tax years ended April 30 of each year), by States, is as follows:

STATE.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.
Alabama.....	1,706	1,432	1,140	1,138	937	925	1,110
Arizona (a).....	496	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	852	753	716	595	767	852	957
California (b).....	10,201	11,070	11,720	11,788	12,448	13,541	13,879
Colorado (c).....	2,598	2,460	2,471	2,333	2,953	2,632	3,039
Connecticut (d)....	2,583	3,246	3,148	3,374	4,483	4,549	5,097
Dakota (e).....	968	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware (f).....	641	680	677	701	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	329	375	379	326	354	372	478
Georgia.....	2,276	1,498	2,463	1,710	1,460	1,685	1,921
Idaho (h).....	314	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	11,756	10,784	11,956	12,703	12,379	12,720	14,040
Indiana.....	5,921	6,252	6,439	5,959	5,905	6,381	6,488
Iowa.....	4,322	3,890	4,042	3,987	3,261	3,066	3,508
Kansas (i).....	2,071	2,308	2,347	2,241	1,430	1,378	1,429
Kentucky.....	4,708	4,608	4,029	3,943	3,809	3,538	4,849
Louisiana (k).....	4,982	5,643	5,700	4,955	5,209	5,855	5,016
Maine (l).....	1,095	1,109	1,037	1,028	.....	.....	.....
Maryland (m).....	5,506	5,891	6,247	6,487	6,597	6,406	6,944
Massachusetts.....	8,157	8,317	8,481	8,119	7,694	5,835	4,663
Michigan.....	6,004	6,454	6,414	6,938	6,342	6,230	6,552
Minnesota.....	3,565	4,701	4,234	4,435	3,440	2,889	3,508
Mississippi (n)....	1,294	1,114	1,291	1,020	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	6,551	7,298	6,803	7,282	6,073	5,986	7,114
Montana (o).....	1,799	2,441	1,868	1,975	2,341	2,242	2,765
Nebraska (p).....	1,639	2,504	3,183	3,579	3,016	3,707	3,602
Nevada (q).....	597	425	800	989	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire (r) .	1,325	1,373	1,348	1,429	2,499	2,387	2,635
New Jersey.....	7,631	7,354	8,135	8,364	7,913	7,101	8,468
New Mexico (s)....	1,542	2,027	1,804	1,822	1,669	1,467	1,664
New York.....	33,551	33,402	35,733	35,287	32,964	34,566	39,271
North Carolina.....	2,235	2,156	1,994	1,714	1,339	1,306	1,498
Ohio.....	13,766	15,427	17,622	16,661	13,990	12,771	14,761
Oregon (t).....	1,859	2,101	1,904	1,833	1,947	2,058	2,875
Pennsylvania.....	20,156	20,299	20,295	21,182	15,370	10,523	12,673
Rhode Island (u)....	1,476	1,404	1,544	1,241	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	911	968	991	1,049	874	843	896
Tennessee.....	1,990	1,689	2,051	1,641	1,677	1,728	2,156
Texas.....	4,399	3,915	4,007	3,861	3,496	3,534	3,912
Utah (v).....	253	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont (w).....	499	494	573	507	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	2,881	2,872	2,739	2,648	2,390	2,268	2,892
Washington (x).....	288	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	800	984	870	829	764	627	1,037
Wisconsin.....	6,580	6,310	6,532	6,670	6,043	6,522	7,954
Wyoming (y).....	140	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	195,284	197,898	205,832	204,342	183,933	178,576	201,461

a Part of the collection district of New Mexico since September 5, 1888, b Including Nevada from October 1, 1883, to July 31, 1884, and since July 1,

* See Internal Revenue Report for 1889, pp. 40-43, and 1890, pp. 362-S.

† Owing to the fact that the special tax year 1891 had 14 months, there is no fair way of equating the number of liquor dealers for that year.

1887. *c* Including Wyoming since August 15, 1883. *d* Including Rhode Island since July 1, 1887. *e* Part of the collection district of Nebraska since August 20, 1883. *f* Including nine counties of Maryland from October 2, 1876, to June 30, 1887, and two counties of Virginia from June 19, 1877, to June 30, 1887; part of the collection district of Maryland since July 1, 1887. *g* Part of the collection district of Montana since August 20, 1883. *h* Including the Indian Territory since August 8, 1881. *i* Including Mississippi since July 1, 1887. *j* Part of the collection district of New Hampshire since July 1, 1887. *k* Exclusive of nine counties annexed to Delaware, but including the District of Columbia, from October 2, 1876, to June 30, 1887; States of Maryland and Delaware and District of Columbia since July 1, 1887. *l* Part of the collection district of Louisiana since July 1, 1887. *m* Including Idaho since August 20, 1883, and Utah from August 20, 1883, to July 31, 1884, and since July 1, 1887. *n* Including Dakota since August 20, 1883. *o* Part of California from October 1, 1883, to July 31, 1884, and since July 1, 1887; including Utah from August 1, 1884, to June 30, 1887. *p* Including Maine and Vermont since July 1, 1887. *q* Including Arizona since September 5, 1883. *r* Including Alaska since December 27, 1872, and Washington Territory since September 1, 1883. *s* Part of the collection district of Connecticut since July 1, 1887. *t* Part of the collection district of Montana since August 20, 1883, to July 21, 1884, and since July 1, 1887; part of the collection district of Nevada from August 1, 1884, to June 30, 1887. *u* Part of the collection district of New Hampshire since July 1, 1887. *v* Part of the collection district of Oregon since September 1, 1883. *w* Part of the collection district of Colorado since August 15, 1883.

Liquor Dealers and National Politics.

The following table presents a comparison of the number of liquor dealers in each of the States in 1890, with the number of votes necessary to turn the political complexion of the State in 1888 :

STATES THAT WERE REPUBLICAN IN 1888.

STATE.	Liquor Dealers (1890).	Harrison's Plurality (1888).	Votes necessary to turn the State.	ELECTORAL VOTE.	
				1888.	1892.
California.....	14,017	7,087	3,544	8	9
Colorado.....	2,845	13,207	6,604	3	4
Idaho.....	609	1,747*	834	.....	3
Illinois.....	15,501	22,195	11,460	22	24
Indiana.....	7,435	2,348	1,175	15	15
Iowa.....	4,342	31,711	15,861	13	13
Kansas.....	1,777	80,159	40,080	9	10
Maine.....	956	28,253	11,627	6	6
Massachusetts.....	4,752	32,037	16,019	14	15
Michigan.....	6,965	22,918	11,460	13	11
Minnesota.....	3,598	38,107	19,054	7	9
Montana.....	2,321	5,126*	2,564	.....	3
Nebraska.....	1,602	27,873	13,937	5	8
Nevada.....	674	1,908	952	3	3
New Hampshire.....	1,582	2,342	1,172	4	4
New York.....	89,811	13,002	6,502	36	36
North Dakota {	1,084	9,489	4,745	.....	3
South Dakota }		19,862	9,932	.....	4
Ohio.....	14,785	19,599	9,800	23	23
Oregon.....	1,386	6,769	3,385	3	4
Pennsylvania.....	12,075	70,458	35,730	30	32
Rhode Island.....	2,050	4,438	2,220	4	4
Vermont.....	388	28,404	14,203	4	4
Washington.....	1,292	7,371*	3,686	.....	4
Wisconsin.....	7,372	21,321	10,661	11	12
Wyoming.....	492	2,894*	1,448	.....	3
Total.....	149,711	478,141	.....	233	267

* Vote for Territorial Congressmen in 1888.

STATES THAT WERE DEMOCRATIC IN 1888.

STATES.	Liquor Dealers (1890).	Cleveland's Plurality (1888).	Votes necessary to turn the State.	ELECTORAL VOTE.	
				1888.	1892.
Alabama.....	1,391	61,123	30,562	10	11
Arkansas.....	1,026	27,210	13,606	7	8
Connecticut.....	3,801	336	169	6	6
Delaware.....	323	3,441	1,721	3	3
Florida.....	497	12,904	6,453	4	4
Georgia.....	2,067	60,008	30,002	12	13
Kentucky.....	4,858	23,666	14,334	13	13
Louisiana.....	5,312	54,548	27,275	8	8
Maryland.....	3,658	6,182	3,092	8	8
Mississippi.....	1,299	55,375	27,688	9	9
Missouri.....	7,679	25,717	12,859	16	17
New Jersey.....	8,194	7,149	3,575	9	10
North Carolina.....	1,649	13,118	6,560	11	11
South Carolina.....	1,027	52,089	26,045	9	9
Tennessee.....	2,507	19,791	9,896	12	12
Texas.....	4,833	146,461	73,232	13	15
Virginia.....	3,001	1,539	770	12	12
West Virginia.....	1,021	506	254	6	6
Total.....	53,633	576,158	.....	168	175

From the foregoing we have :

Number of liquor dealers legalized in the States that cast their vote for the National Republican Party in 1888..... 149,711

Number of liquor dealers legalized in the States that cast their vote for the National Democratic Party in 1888..... 53,663

The population in 1890 of the States that were carried in 1888 by Harrison was 37,420,579, being 250 to each liquor dealer. The population of the States carried by Cleveland was 24,347,473, being 454 to each dealer.

In eleven States, having 153 electoral votes, the number of dealers is larger than the number of votes required to reverse the Presidential plurality of 1888, and in 17 others, having 167 electoral votes, the number of dealers and their hangers-on, if each dealer controls three votes besides his own, is larger than the number of votes required to reverse the Presidential plurality of 1888.

Crime Due to Drink.

The liquor trade has opposed all attempts made in Congress or in State Legislatures to obtain official investigations into the relation of drink to crime. Only one such investigation has been made in a thorough manner. The Hon. Carroll D. Wright, now Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, when in charge of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor made an inquiry, at the direction of the Legislature, into the "Influence of Intemperance upon Crime," analyzing the crimes committed in Suffolk county, in which Boston is located, for the year from September 1, 1879, to September 1, 1890. The total number of sentences for the year of the investigation was 16,897, of which 12,289, or 72 per cent., were for dis-

tinctively liquor offences, namely, 12,221 for drunkenness, and 68 for illegal liquor selling. The following table is a summary of the results of Mr. Wright's investigation of the habits and condition of the persons who committed the remaining 4,608 crimes :

CRIME.	Total number of crimes covered by the investigation.	Number committed while under the influence of liquor.	Intent to commit formed while under the influence of drink.	Habits of the Criminal with regard to Liquor Drinking.			
				Total Abstainees.	Moderate Drinkers.	Excessive Drinkers.	Not Ascertained.
Adultery.....	13	3	1	4	6	2	1
Assault and battery.....	1,498	829	791	238	702	472	86
Assault on officer.....	17	13	12	1	9	4	3
Assault with weapon.....	19	17	17	....	4	13	2
Breaking and entering.....	122	82	81	45	45	27	5
Breaking glass.....	45	33	33	7	15	22	1
Common brawler.....	11	7	7	....	2	8	1
Cruelty.....	61	13	13	14	37	9	1
Disorderly house.....	22	14	9	....	8	13	1
Disturbing the peace.....	215	176	160	13	97	99	6
Embezzlement.....	37	12	12	8	18	8	3
Evading car fares.....	36	11	11	17	15	3	1
False pretenses.....	19	5	4	4	10	5	....
Fornication.....	48	10	7	20	22	5	1
Gaming laws, violating.....	45	4	3	31	12	2	....
Idle and disorderly persons.....	154	85	55	21	52	75	6
Indecent language.....	19	15	14	10	4	5	....
Larceny.....	1,115	446	429	324	434	298	59
Lewdness.....	23	1	1	12	10	....	1
Malicious mischief.....	142	67	62	52	47	41	2
Malicious trespass.....	32	3	3	18	9	1	4
Nightwalker, common.....	126	38	18	49	46	25	6
Profanity.....	95	73	70	7	50	35	3
Receiving stolen goods.....	14	3	2	3	6	4	1
Rescue.....	23	19	19	....	11	11	1
Robbery.....	18	8	8	....	14	4	....
Stubborn children.....	11	1	1	8	2	1	....
Sunday law, violating.....	49	....	....	29	19	....	1
Threats.....	37	25	21	4	11	22	....
Truancy.....	53	....	....	46	7	....	....
Vagabonds.....	109	74	50	8	22	75	4
Violating town or city by-laws.....	276	30	28	135	121	11	9
Other offences*.....	204	30	25	38	51	17	6
Aggregate.....	4,608	2,097	1,918	1,158	1,918	1,317	215

* These were 9 each of disturbing meeting, and house of ill-fame; 8 each of fraud and keeping unlicensed dog, 7 forgery, 6 obstructing or resisting an officer; 5 assault, felonious; 4 each of escape, manslaughter, peddling, polygamy, unlawful appropriation; 3 each of concealing mortgaged property, contempt; 2 refusing to assist an officer; and 1 each of abduction, abortion, adulterating milk, burglary, carrying concealed weapons, committing nuisance, disturbing a school, enticing seamen to desert, neglect of child, perjury, rape, runaway, selling tobacco without license, selling unwholesome provisions, tampering with witnesses, violating game laws.

Thus it will be seen that 2,097 of the 4,608 crimes not strictly rum offences—45 per cent.—were committed while under the influence of liquor; in 1,918 cases, or 42 per cent. of the total the intent was formed while the person was under the influence of liquor; 1,918, or 42 per cent., were moderate drinkers; 1,817, or 39 per cent., were excessive drinkers; 1,158, or only 25 per cent., were total abstainers; 215, or 5 per cent., were unascertained. The investigation also showed that in 1,804 cases, or 39 per cent. of the total, the conditions under which the crime was committed were induced by the drinking habit of the criminal, while in 821 cases, or 17 per cent., the conditions were induced by the drinking habits of others. The conclusion, then, is that, for the year covered by the investigation, in addition to the 12,289 of the total crimes which were distinctly rum offences, fully 2,000 more were due to liquor, making in all about **84 per cent.** of the total crimes due to drink. This may be a little high—indeed it is fully 10 per cent. higher than Prohibition writers usually estimate—but the liquor men seem to prefer not to contradict it by allowing a more thorough investigation by a Congressional Commission of Inquiry.

Attempt to Get a Commission of Inquiry.

For the last 20 years and more the temperance people of the United States have been trying to secure an official investigation of the liquor traffic, its influence on crime, pauperism, etc., and the effect of the various systems of regulation, restriction, and Prohibition, by a Congressional Commission appointed to make the investigation. At each session of Congress since 1871, a bill has been introduced and the liquor interests have fought it vigorously. Congress has, in the meantime, voted liberal appropriations to investigate the operations of chinch-bugs, cut-worms, grasshoppers, diseases of cattle, etc. The Commission of Inquiry bill has passed the Senate several times.

Statistics of Crime.

Only three or four States have a system of compiling criminal statistics that is worthy to be called a system. New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts have the best, and they will be summarized here, together with police statistics of a number of large cities.

New York.—The Secretary of State makes a yearly report on Statistics of Crime, compiled from reports made to him by Sheriffs and County Clerks. The report for the year ended October 31, 1890, gives the following statistics of crimes for which persons were convicted in courts of general sessions held in various cities of the State. Under "Drunkenness" are included what the Secretary of State classified under intoxication, habitual drunkards and drunk and disorderly. Under "Disorderly Conduct" are included 432 disorderly persons, but not 142 cases of breach of the peace; 34 keeping disorderly houses, 1,109 malicious mischief, 1,349 misdemeanors, etc. Under "Assault" are included only convictions under the head of assault,

third degree, and not 265 cases of cruelty to animals, nor 158 cruelty to children. Under "Vagrancy" are included 54 tramps. Of the 16,219 "Other Offenses," 3,057 are the above-named crimes related to but not included in the classification of liquor crimes, 4,301 are petit larceny, 754 insane criminals, 371 attempts at petit larceny, 219 abandonment, 123 violation of excise laws, 2,512 violation of health laws, 3,880 violation of city ordinances, 172 threats, etc.

CONVICTIONS OF CRIME BY COURTS OF SPECIAL SESSIONS IN THE
SEVERAL CITIES OF NEW YORK STATE, FOR THE YEAR ENDED
OCTOBER, 31, 1890.

CITIES.	Total Number Reported.	Convictions for Drunkenness and Offenses usually growing out of Drunkenness.					Other Offenses.
		Drunkenness.	Disorderly Conduct.	Assault.	Vagrancy.	Total.	
Albany.....	1,901	1,032	189	142	140	1,503	398
Amsterdam....	19	5	3	5	1	14	5
Auburn.....	795	.....	1	17	8	26	768
Binghamton....	19	.....	1	10	1	12	7
Brooklyn.....	20,198	8,286	2,329	2,115	860	13,590	6,608
Buffalo.....	1,105	22	36	231	87	376	729
Cohoes.....	262	77	47	26	10	160	102
Corning.....	144	112	.....	16	1	129	15
Dunkirk.....	328	176	6	34	49	265	63
Elmira.....	421	304	6	39	32	371	50
Gloversville...	145	94	6	18	3	121	24
Hornellsville..	463	275	38	26	9	348	115
Hudson.....	357	197	40	72	15	324	33
Ithaca.....	209	96	80	17	7	202	7
Jamestown....	433	269	.....	43	6	318	115
Kingston.....	141	39	47	25	5	116	25
Lockport.....	187	88	21	35	8	152	35
Long Isl'd City	96	44	17	6	12	79	17
Middletown....	320	150	50	40	5	245	75
Newburg.....	375	176	41	60	37	314	61
New York.....	47,577	14,699	21,710	726	5,126	42,261	5,316
Ogdensburg....	148	45	28	27	8	108	40
Oswego.....	801	348	4	141	30	523	278
Rochester.....	2,034	1,133	45	151	61	1,390	644
Rome.....	126	76	2	7	24	109	17
Schenectady..	223	158	1	9	.....	168	55
Syracuse.....	1,078	438	6	77	43	564	514
Troy.....	404	296	.....	17	42	355	49
Utica.....	955	666	34	39	145	884	71
Watertown....	199	156	7	9	3	175	24
Yonkers.....	60	37	6	2	4	49	11
Total.....	81,528	29,501	24,801	4,172	6,835	65,309	16,219

*Of these 795 convictions reported in the city of Auburn, 713 were for "violation of city ordinance." That, doubtless, includes the cases of drunkenness, disorderly conduct, and other allied offenses which are separately classified by other cities.

These do not include all the convictions for crime in the State, as many general sessions courts were held outside of the cities named. The above were reported to the Secretary of State by sheriffs. His report also contained a list reported by county clerks, covering 63,724 cases (many of them, doubtless, the same as those reported by sheriffs); of these, by a classification similar to the above, 84,605 were Drunkenness; 1,411 Disorderly Conduct, 4,404 Assault, 8,438 Vagrancy, 14,866 other offenses than those classified as usually growing out of drunkenness.

Connecticut.—The crimes for which the courts of Connecticut committed prisoners to county jails in the year ended June 30, 1890, were as follows:

COUNTIES.	Population (1890).	Offenses for which Prisoners were Committed to County Jails for the Year ended June 30, 1890.					
		Drunken- ness.	Breach of Peace.	Vag- rancy.	Assault.	Other Offenses.	Total Commit- ments.
Hartford	147,180	746	87	67	163	345	1,408
New Haven	209,058	1,562	435	123	140	404	2,665
New London	78,634	695	105	45	27	166	1,038
Fairfield	150,081	668	172	169	213	486	1,708
Windham	45,158	152	5	17	6	48	228
Litchfield	53,532	51	12	13	22	53	151
Middlesex	39,524	134	3	22	23	32	214
Tolland	25,081	19	14	0	13	19	65
Total	746,258	4,028	833	456	607	1,553	7,477
Per Cent. of Total Commitm'ts		53.9	11.1	6.1	8.1	20.8	100.0

NOTE.—Drunkenness includes common drunkards; vagrancy includes tramps; assault includes assault with intent to kill, manslaughter, murder, resisting officer; other offenses are: adultery, attempt at rape, bastardy, bigamy, common prostitute, fornication, frequenting house of ill-fame, keeping house of ill-fame, lewd conduct, rape, seduction, burglary, civil process, contempt of court, cruelty to animals, defrauding, embezzlement, forgery, horse stealing, house breaking, injury to property, insane larceny, making or passing counterfeit money, malicious injury, neglect of family, obtaining goods on false pretense, perjury, robbery, setting fire, stealing from person, taking horse without leave, trespass on railroad property, violation of liquor laws (42), and 112 not named.

Massachusetts.—The Prison Commissioners of Massachusetts make the most thorough report on crime of any State commission. They go further than the others quoted, and give the *arrests* for crime made in the State for the year, comparing the total arrests with arrests for drunkenness in each city. On page 54 is a table giving for the last three years the statistics of arrests and arrests for drunkenness in each

city of Massachusetts. The following table gives the aggregate arrests for all the cities and towns of the State for each of the last seven years :

YEAR.	Drunkenness.	Other Offenses.	Aggregate.
1885.....	35,480	27,127	62,607
1886.....	35,402	25,938	61,340
1887.....	41,456	26,235	67,691
1888.....	48,153	28,064	76,217
1889.....	53,158	29,958	83,116
1890.....	52,814	28,030	80,844
1891.....	56,512	30,602	87,114

Principal Cities.—The following table is an analysis of the statistics of arrests for crime, as reported by the police officials of the 15 largest cities of the United States for the police year in the course of which the United States Census for 1890 was taken :

CITY.	Police Year (1890) ended.	Total Arrests.	Arrests for Offenses usually due to Drink.*				
			Drunken- ness.	Disor- derly.	Assault	Vagran- cy.	Total.
New York.....	Dec. 31.	84,556	31,490	17,607	6,345	5,791	61,233
Chicago.....	Dec. 31.	62,230	.....	37,170	3,241	1,645	42,056
Philadelphia..	Dec. 31.	49,148	25,925	7,392	3,449	3,311	40,077
Brooklyn.....	Dec. 31.	38,314	22,717	1,451	8,707	3,875	31,750
St. Louis.....	Apr. 13†	20,729	5,179	5,719	729	845	11,472
Boston.....	Nov. 30.	37,432	24,028	686	3,012	2,043	29,769
Baltimore.....	Dec. 31.	30,730	6,810	11,784	3,084	765	22,441
San Francisco.	June 30.	23,549	11,618	1,233	2,408	1,044	16,303
Cincinnati.....	Dec. 31.	16,944	2,651	1,822	1,302	2,378	8,153
Cleveland.....	Dec. 31.	9,616	5,248	894	581	270	6,993
Buffalo.....	Dec. 31.	17,628	5,940	2,713	966	3,692	13,311
New Orleans..	Dec. 31.	22,008	7,174	5,307	2,345	418	15,244
Pittsburgh....	Jan. 31†	19,449	6,667	8,867	11	2,768	18,323
Washington...	June 30.	24,372	4,829	4,606	3,583	2,801	15,819
Detroit.....	Feb. 5.	8,746	3,472	1,834	630	896	6,792
Total.....	.....	465,514	163,757	109,083	35,392	32,502	339,734

* The charges as given in the police reports are reclassified as follows: Drunkenness includes all crimes in which drunkenness or intoxication is specified. Disorderly includes all crimes such as disturbing the peace, reckless driving, etc. Assault includes crimes of violence, such as assault and battery, assault with intent to kill, murder, mayhem, etc.; it does not include assault with intent to rob or rape. Vagrancy includes tramps, loitering, etc.

† 1891.

Comparing the total number of arrests and the number of arrests for drink offenses and the expenses of the police departments of the

15 cities included in the above table with the population of each as given by the Census of 1890, we have the following figures:

CITIES.	Popula- tion (1890).	Population to each arrest.	Population to each drink offense.	Expenses of Police Department.	
				Total.	Per cap.
New York.....	1,515,301	17.92	24.75	\$4,647,791.84	\$3.07
Chicago.....	1,098,850	17.66	26.18	2,200,126.96	2.00
Philadelphia.....	1,046,964	21.30	26.12	1,887,947.82	1.71
Brooklyn.....	800,343	21.05	25.40	1,512,175.15	1.87
St. Louis.....	451,770	21.79	39.38	811,584.42	1.91
Boston.....	448,477	11.96	15.07	1,161,642.01	2.59
Baltimore.....	434,439	14.14	19.36	788,030.81	1.81
San Francisco.....	298,997	12.70	18.34	535,493.79	1.80
Cincinnati.....	290,908	17.52	36.29	467,332.57	1.57
Cleveland.....	261,353	27.18	37.37	317,971.76	1.22
Buffalo.....	255,664	14.50	19.21	448,950.18	1.76
New Orleans.....	242,039	11.00	15.88	*185,000.00	.77
Pittsburgh.....	238,617	12.27	13.02	325,048.45	1.36
Washington.....	230,302	9.45	14.56	*501,035.00	2.17
Detroit.....	205,876	23.54	30.31	321,877.56	1.56
Total.....	7,832,990	16.83	23.06	\$16,012,008.32	\$2.04

* Appropriations for the year.

The population represented by the cities comprised in the table is 7,832,990, about 43 per cent. of the entire population (18,284,885) in cities of over 8,000, and about 34 per cent. of the population (22,717,465) in cities and towns of over 2,500 population. If the same rate *per capita* of expense for maintaining police departments holds for all the cities of over 8,000 population, the annual cost of policing such cities would be \$37,300,000. And if it cost two-thirds that rate to police towns of 2,500 to 8,000, the cost for such towns would be an additional \$7,029,000. If, moreover, the rural districts and towns of less than 2,500 population pay for apprehending criminals one-third the rate *per capita* that it costs cities, another \$27,145,000 must be added, making in all \$71,574,000 as the cost of apprehending criminals in the United States. The drink offenses for the cities included in the table comprise 73 per cent. of the total arrests for crime. The proportion is fully as high, probably higher, in smaller cities and towns. The proportionate cost, therefore, of policing the liquor traffic is, on this basis, about \$52,260,000 a year.

It is difficult to give an adequate explanation of the difference between different cities in the number of arrests in proportion to the population. Thus, Washington has nearly three times as many arrests to the population as Cleveland, and nearly twice as many as New York; Cleveland has a very much smaller proportion of arrests to population than its neighbor Cincinnati, though both have almost the same proportion of drink offenses to population; this would indicate that drunkenness was more prevalent in Cleveland than in Cincinnati, which anyone acquainted with the two cities knows is not true; Cin-

cinnati's police expenses *per capita*, moreover, are higher than Cleveland's. The difference in the police systems seems to be the only plausible explanation.

Penitentiary Convicts in the United States.

Census Bulletin No. 31, dated Feb. 14, 1891, gives the number of convicts serving sentence for crime in the various States prisons of the United States in 1890, and figures out the ratio of convicts to the million of population, comparing the number and ratio in 1890 with the same in 1880, as follows:

STATES AND TERRI- TORIES.	1880.		1890.		STATES AND TERRI- TORIES.	1880.		1890.	
	No.	Ratio.	No.	Ratio.		No.	Ratio.	No.	Ratio.
Alabama..	1,121	888	1,086	719	Nevada.....	150	2,409	96	2,008
Alaska.....					N. H'shire..	154	444	116	390
Arizona.....	31	767	144	2,415	New Mexico..			112	729
Arkansas....	564	703	842	737	New Jersey..	1,047	926	1,557	1,078
California..	1,445	1,729	2,051	1,698	New York....	6,300	1,239	8,190	1,367
Colorado....	185	962	526	1,276	N. Carolina..	1,216	869	1,422	879
Conn'cut....	252	403	340	456	N. Dakota....			65	896
Delaware....					Ohio.....	1,278	400	1,632	450
Florida.....	183	679	374	955	Oklahoma....				
Georgia.....	1,504	975	1,729	941	Oregon.....	180	1,030	365	1,154
Idaho.....	22	675	102	1,209	Penn'vania..	1,837	429	2,361	449
Illinois.....	1,838	597	2,077	538	R. Island....	107	387	122	353
Indiana.....	1,238	626	1,416	646	S. Carolina..	404	406	506	200
Iowa.....	516	33	623	326	S. Dakota....			97	296
Kansas.....	687	690	918	643	Tennessee....	1,464	949	1,484	599
Kentucky....	802	486	1,235	661	Texas.....	2,225	1,441	3,319	1,485
Louisiana....	619	660	856	765	Utah.....	53	368	180	666
Maine.....	213	324	179	257	Vermont.....	143	430	91	254
Maryland....	685	733	690	662	Virginia.....	1,087	719	1,167	706
Massach'ts..	1,045	698	1,530	683	Washington..	54	719	251	518
Michigan....	1,183	723	1,108	529	W. Virginia..	266	430	278	364
Minnesota....	248	318	432	332	Wisconsin....	308	234	530	314
Mississippi..	1,038	961	429	333	Wyoming....	19	914	10	108
Missouri....	1,240	590	1,701	635					
Montana....	53	1,354	225	1,702	Total.....	35,538	709	45,233	722
Nebraska....	256	566	391	369					

A comparison between two States is likely to be unfair, inasmuch as there is no uniform system of punishment throughout the country, and a crime that in one State would be punished by confinement in a State penitentiary, in another State would be punished by confinement in a county jail, or by a fine.

Prisoners in County Jails in the United States.

Census Bulletin No. 95, dated July 14, 1891, gives the number of prisoners in county jails in the United States on June 1, 1890, the ratio of the same to the million of population, and a comparison with the number and ratio in 1890. The statistics are of little value to show what they purport to show. It gives no indication of the number of prisoners confined in a county jail during a year, nor of the average daily number, to state the number on a given day, especially if the authorities are notified long enough beforehand that the census is to

be taken to enable them to have as many prisoners as possible discharged. Thus, while the official records of the State of Connecticut for the year ended June 30, 1890, show that there were 7,437 commitments to the county jails of the State during the year, the census shows only 675. In the county jails of Massachusetts, according to the report of the prison commissioners for the year ended Sept. 30, 1890, the average number of prisoners during the year was 4,046, whereas this bulletin gives only 954. The statistics are given, however, for what they are worth:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	1880.		1890.		STATES AND TERRITORIES.	1880.		1890.	
	No.	Ratio.	No.	Ratio.		No.	Ratio.	No.	Ratio.
Alabama....	232	184	573	379	Nebraska...	78	172	219	207
Alaska.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nevada.....	49	787	54	1,180
Arizona.....	23	569	97	1,627	New H'shire..	57	164	113	306
Arkansas....	190	237	397	352	New Jersey...	483	427	783	542
California...	657	760	682	565	New Mexico...	40	335	85	553
Colorado....	84	482	275	667	New York....	857	169	1,292	215
Connecticut..	431	692	645	905	N. Carolina...	329	235	442	273
Delaware....	81	552	139	825	N. Dakota } ..	55	407	(25)	190
D. Columbia	190	1,070	213	925	S. Dakota } ..	.....	.....	(72)	.....
Florida.....	86	319	270	690	Ohio.....	466	146	502	137
Georgia.....	299	194	552	300	Oklahoma....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	10	307	45	533	Oregon.....	40	229	61	194
Illinois.....	686	223	727	190	Pennsylv'ia..	1,748	407	2,386	454
Indiana.....	289	146	464	212	Rhode Isl'd..	47	170	229	663
Iowa.....	255	157	327	171	S. Carolina...	220	221	374	325
Kansas.....	202	203	432	303	Tennessee...	483	313	654	370
Kentucky....	471	286	640	348	Texas.....	826	519	1,040	465
Louisiana...	440	468	524	468	Utah.....	5	35	43	207
Maine.....	185	285	302	457	Vermont.....	45	135	30	90
Maryland....	148	158	163	156	Virginia.....	266	176	390	236
Massachusetts	418	234	954	426	Washington..	27	359	141	404
Michigan....	220	134	399	191	W. Virginia..	106	171	153	201
Minnesota...	105	134	208	160	Wisconsin...	178	135	345	205
Mississippi...	206	182	284	220	Wyoming....	36	1,732	59	972
Missouri....	324	149	505	188					
Montana....	23	587	193	1,460	Total....	12,691	253	19,538	312

Statistics of Pauperism.

One of the most difficult lines of statistical investigation is pauperism. No two States, hardly any two towns, have systems that are the same. The Census Bureau, in Bulletin No. 90, dated July 8, 1891, has compiled the number of paupers regularly taken care of in almshouses in 1890, comparing the same with 1880; and has appended the number of out-door paupers as reported by the authorities. The Bureau explains that "It is impossible to obtain, through the machinery of the Census Office, any approximation to a complete enumeration of outdoor poor, meaning by that phrase the poor who are permanently supported at public expense at their own homes or with private families." The same caution should be made with regard to comparing two different States respecting the number of paupers reported, as was made with regard to penitentiary convicts. Such a comparison is not likely to be fair, owing to the different sys-

tems in different States. The statistics, as compiled by the Census Bureau, are as follows :

STATE.	PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES.				OUTDOOR PAUPERS.	
	1880.		1890.		1880.	1890
	No.	Ratio.	No.	Ratio.		
Alabama.....	514	407	623	412	279	306
Alaska.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arizona.....	4	90	23	386	.....	6
Arkansas.....	105	131	223	198	85	271
California.....	1,594	1,843	2,600	2,152	77	133
Colorado.....	46	237	87	211	1	35
Connecticut.....	1,418	2,277	1,438	1,927	381	528
Delaware.....	387	2,640	290	1,775	8	13
Dist of Columbia..	184	1,036	221	959	.....	.....
Florida.....	45	167	24	61	62	195
Georgia.....	550	857	901	490	728	702
Idaho.....	7	215	20	237	10	13
Illinois.....	3,684	1,197	5,395	1,410	591	1,220
Indiana.....	3,052	1,543	2,927	1,335	913	1,292
Iowa.....	1,165	717	1,621	848	968	994
Kansas.....	355	356	598	416	220	530
Kentucky.....	1,366	820	1,578	849	693	833
Louisiana.....	.....	.....	122	109	141	186
Maine.....	1,505	2,319	1,161	1,756	1,706	1,143
Maryland.....	1,187	1,270	1,599	1,534	147	183
Massachusetts.....	4,583	2,542	4,725	2,110	954	1,501
Michigan.....	1,746	1,087	1,016	915	554	585
Minnesota.....	227	291	365	280	269	792
Mississippi.....	345	306	494	383	202	201
Missouri.....	1,477	681	2,378	888	321	302
Montana.....	.....	.....	132	990	.....	24
Nebraska.....	113	250	201	275	53	105
Nevada.....	95	1,526	43	940	1	10
New Hampshire....	1,198	3,453	1,143	3,096	839	637
New Jersey.....	2,462	2,177	2,718	1,381	518	324
New Mexico.....	.....	.....	1	7	37	17
New York.....	12,452	2,450	10,272	1,713	2,817	2,082
North Carolina....	1,275	911	1,493	623	608	892
North Dakota }	.....	.....	35	192	.....	.....
South Dakota }	.....	.....	53	161	24	209
Ohio.....	6,974	2,181	7,400	2,015	489	553
Oklahoma.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	51	292	90	316	81	102
Pennsylvania.....	9,184	2,144	8,653	1,646	2,502	2,001
Rhode Island.....	526	1,902	490	1,418	27	32
South Carolina....	519	521	578	502	187	221
Tennessee.....	1,136	737	1,545	874	308	454
Texas.....	210	132	464	208	322	432
Utah.....	.....	.....	62	298	33	9
Vermont.....	655	1,971	543	1,638	908	733
Virginia.....	2,117	1,400	2,193	1,324	1,015	1,304
Washington.....	11	146	71	203	6	28
West Virginia.....	711	1,150	792	1,088	486	515
Wisconsin.....	1,018	774	2,641	1,566	1,010	469
Wyoming.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	15
Total.....	66,203	1,320	73,045	1,166	21,594	24,290

Pauperism Due to Drink.

The report of the Secretary of State of New York for 1863, made the statement that "in an examination made into the history of those paupers"—the 261,252 relieved during that year—"by a competent committee, seven-eighths of them were reduced to this low and degraded condition directly or indirectly through intemperance." And the Commissioners of Charity and Correction for New York City said in their report for 1880: "Many reasons for this painful and rapidly increasing pauperism among the people have been assigned, but that which takes precedence above and beyond all others is the curse of intemperance." The *Voices* in 1886, obtained from the Superintendents of Almshouses and Poor Directors of several cities estimates of the percentage of pauperism occasioned by drink, as follows: Worcester, Mass., males, 90 per cent., females, 70 per cent.; Albany, N. Y., 90 per cent.; Meadville, Pa., 90 per cent.; St. Charles, Mo., 75 to 85 per cent.; Minneapolis, Minn., 80 per cent.; Hamilton, Ohio, 75 per cent. In the estimate of the proportion of pauperism due to drink (page 13), the lowest of these estimates, 75 per cent., is used.

Mortality from Alcohol.

Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson, in the article on "Alcohol," in the "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition," "places the mortality from alcohol at one-tenth the total mortality, in places where the article is consumed in the same proportion as in England and Wales—a proportion fairly representative of alcoholic populations generally." That would make the mortality from alcohol in the United States from 70,000 to 80,000 annually. The *Voices* of May 8, 1890, printed replies from 19 representative physicians estimating the proportion of deaths due to alcohol in each class of diseases as reported in the mortality tables. The average of the estimates applied to the mortality tables of the Census of 1880 was as follows:

CLASS OF DISEASES.	Total Deaths (1880).	Per cent. due to Alcohol.	Deaths due to Alcohol.
Diseases of the respiratory system.....	107,904	16	17,265
Diseases of the nervous system.....	83,670	32	26,774
Diseases of the digestive system.....	34,094	27	9,205
Consumption.....	91,551	4.5	4,120
Urinary and kidney diseases.....	12,098	20.8	2,495
Diseases of heart and circulating system	28,582	18.5	5,288
Accidents and injuries.....	35,901	19.6	7,046
Total deaths estimated due to alcohol	....	....	72,193

This estimate, obtained by a method entirely different from that employed by Dr. Richardson, corresponds so closely with his estimate that the coincidence is remarkable.

Alcohol and Life Insurance.

The records of the Temperance Provident Institution of London, which has two sections, one for total abstainers from alcoholic liquors

and the other for moderate drinkers, show the advantage which the former have over the latter as follows:

YEAR.	TOTAL ABSTINENCE SECTION.			MODERATE DRINKERS SECTION.			Excess of per cent. Deaths of Moderate Drinkers.
	Expected Deaths.	Actual Deaths.	Per cent. of Deaths.	Expected Deaths.	Actual Deaths.	Per cent. of Deaths.	
1868-70....	549	411	74	1,008	944	94	20
1871.....	127	72	57	234	217	93	36
1872.....	137	90	66	244	222	116	50
1873.....	144	118	82	253	246	97	15
1874.....	153	110	72	263	268	110	38
1875.....	162	121	75	273	297	109	34
1876.....	168	102	60	279	253	90	30
1877.....	179	132	73	291	280	96	23
1878.....	187	117	63	299	317	106	43
1879.....	196	164	84	305	326	107	23
1880.....	203	136	67	311	304	98	31
1881-5.....	1,179	835	72	1,670	1,530	92	20
1886-8.....	851	606	71	1,085	1,035	95	24
Totals...	4,235	3,014	71	6,515	6,319	97	26

A full discussion of this subject will be found in the article on "Longevity" in the "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition."

Present Liquor Laws of Different States.

The main features of the liquor laws in force in the several States amount of license fees and of bonds, the local option provisions, and the principal prohibitions under each law, have been summarized in the following table, which is explained by the key at the bottom:

- ALABAMA.—R 125 to 300; *a, c, d, w, n.*
 ALASKA.—Prohibition, by an executive order issued May 4, 1887, by President Cleveland, through Secretary of the Treasury Fairchild.
 ARIZONA.—R 40 to 200; *a, d, e, i.*
 ARKANSAS.—R 800; L O c; *a, e, f, v, t.*
 CALIFORNIA.—R 60 to 480; L O c or m; *q, v, a, t, o, x, d, i.*
 COLORADO.—R 600 min. in cities, 500 min. in towns, 300 min. in counties; B 2,000; *n, e, d, f, v, i, tt, z, y, x.*
 CONNECTICUT.—R 100 to 500 in cities, 100 in towns; L O m; *p, d, q, y, z, u, i, j, w.*
 DELAWARE.—R 100, 300; houses licensed, not persons; *y, x, a, c, d, j.*
 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—R 100; *a, f, d, y, z, t.*
 FLORIDA.—R 500; L O c & m; *a, d, d*, x, vt.*
 GEORGIA.—R 50 min.; B 500; L O c; *a, d, x, y, r, s.*
 IDAHO.—R 100 to 200; *e, d, d*, g, y, i, x.*
 ILLINOIS.—R 500 min.; B 3,000; L O m; *i, a, b, c, d, d*, g, y.*
 INDIANA.—R 350 max. in cities, 150 max. in towns; B 2,000; *a, d, d*, g, x, y, z, u, v.*
 INDIAN TERRITORY.—Prohibition by acts of Congress relating to the different tribes
 IOWA.—Prohibition, see page 43.
 KANSAS.—Prohibition, see page 43.
 KENTUCKY.—R 150; L O c & m; *a, n, y, v, r, i, d.*
 LOUISIANA.—R 50 to 750; L O c; *a, x, d.*
 MAINE.—Prohibition, see page 42.
 MARYLAND.—R 200; *a, a*, h*.*

MASSACHUSETTS.—R 1,000 min.; licenses limited to 1 in 1,000 population (1 in 500 in Boston; L O m; *a*, *a**, *d*, *y*, *z*, *s*, *t**,

MICHIGAN.—R 500; B 1,000 to 6,000; L O c; *a*, *e*, *d*, *i*, *q*, *y*, *z*, *x*.

MINNESOTA.—R 1,000 in cities; 500 in towns; B 2,000; *a*, *d*, *d**, *n*, *i*, *x*, *u*, *z*.

MISSISSIPPI.—R 200 to 1,000; B 2,000; L O c or m; *a*, *g*, *i*, *k**, *n*, *r*, *t*, *x*, *y*.

MISSOURI.—R 50 to 400 State, 500 to 800 co., no limit m.; B 2,000; L O c & m; *a*, *d*, *i**, *m*, *n*, *x*, *y*.

MONTANA.—R 100 to 500; L O c; *a*, *a**, *c*, *d*, *i*, *f*, *g*, *t**, *x*.

NEBRASKA.—R 500 min.; 1,000 min. in cities; L O m; *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *x*, *y*, *i*, *j*, *v*.

NEVADA.—R 120; *a*, *c*, *e*, *i*, *k*, *t*, *x*, *z*.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Prohibition of sale (not of manufacture), see page 40.

NEW JERSEY.—R 100 to 250; L O m; *a*, *d*.

NEW MEXICO.—R 100 to 400; L O m; *a*, *d*, *e**, *g*, *i*, *n*, *x*.

NEW YORK.—R 30 to 150 in towns, 30 to 250 in cities; B 250; L O m (at the discretion of excise commissioners); *a*, *d*, *e*, *i*, *p*, *x*, *y*, *z*.

NORTH CAROLINA.—R 100; L O c & m; *a*, *g*, *t*, *r*, *y*, *v*, *v**.

NORTH DAKOTA.—Prohibition, see page 43.

OHIO.—R 250; L O m; *a*, *a**, *g*, *h*†, *q**, *t*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *y**, *z**.

OKLAHOMA.—R 250 to 750; *a*, *c*, *d*, *v*, *x*, *y*.

OREGON.—R 400; B 1,000; L O m; *a*, *a**, *d*, *d**, *s*, *u*, *y*.

PENNSYLVANIA.—R 75 to 500 (in cities 1st and 2d class 1,000); B 2,000; *a*, *d*, *d**, *x*, *y*.

RHODE ISLAND.—R 200 to 400; B 2,000; L O m; *a*, *d*, *h*, *y*.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Prohibition in all unincorporated portions; R 75 min.; B 100; L O m; *a*, *c*, *d*, *x*, *y*.

SOUTH DAKOTA.—Prohibition, see page 43.

TENNESSEE.—R 150 to 200; *a*, *b**, *d*, *i*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *y*.

TEXAS.—R 600; B 5,000; L O c & m; *a*, *d*, *e*, *j*, *m*, *q*, *x*, *y*.

UTAH.—R 600 to 1,000; B 100 to 1,000; *a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, *j*, *m*, *q*, *v*, *x*, *y*.

VERMONT.—Prohibition, see page 42.

VIRGINIA.—R 75 to 125; L O m; *a*, *v*, *x*, *y*.

WASHINGTON.—R 300 to 1,000; L O m; *a*.

WEST VIRGINIA.—R 350 State (cities and towns may increase *ad lib.*); *a*, *c*, *d*, *v*, *x*, *y*.

WISCONSIN.—R 100 to 200; B 500; L O on increasing fee; *a*, *d*, *e*, *i*, *q*, *t*, *v*, *x*, *y*.

WYOMING.—R 150 to 300; *d*, *g*, *x*, *y*.

It. Retail liquor license or tax yearly (min., minimum; max., maximum).

B. Bond required to be given by licensees.

L. O. Local-Option (c., by counties, m., by municipalities).

a. Prohibition of sales to minors; *a**, sales by minors; *at*, minors prohibited from buying. *b.* Prohibition of sales to apprentices; *b**, to students. *c.* Prohibition of sales to persons of unsound mind. *d.* Prohibition of sales to drunkards; *d**, intoxicated persons. *e.* Prohibition of sales to Indians; *e**, except Pueblos. *f.* Prohibition of sales to United States soldiers. *g.* Prohibition of sales to prisoners. *h.* Prohibition of sales to women. *h**, of sales by women; *ht*, of sales to women in order to induce illicit intercourse. *i.* Prohibition of adulteration of liquors; *i**, of beer. *j.* Prohibition of screens; *j**, during illegal hours. *k.* Prohibition of treat-ing; *k**, by candidates. *l.* Prohibition of tables and chairs in saloons; *lt**, of selling at tables. *m.* Prohibition of music. *n.* Prohibition of certain specified games. *o.* Prohibition of selling in State Capitol. *p.* Prohibition of selling in any public buildings. *q.* Prohibition of selling at concerts, theatres, etc.; *q**, of selling in brothels. *r.* Prohibition of selling within a specified distance of a church. *s.* Prohibition of selling within specified distance of a school or institution of learning. *t.* Prohibition within specified distances of certain public institutions; *tt**, of a railway in process of construction; *tt**, of a laborers' camp. *u.* Prohibition of selling within certain distances from a fair; *u**, except in cities of 500,000 population. *v.* Prohibition of sales within a specified distance of a camp meeting; *v**, of a political meeting; *vt*, Prohibition of all selling in case of a riot. *w.* Prohibition of selling in a dwelling-house. *x.* Prohibition of selling on election day. *y.* Prohibition of selling on Sunday; *y**, unless city councils suspend it. *z.* Prohibition of selling within certain hours of the night. *z**, Common carriers prohibited from employing persons addicted to intoxicants; *z**, as engineers.

State Prohibitory Laws, Past and Present.

The States in which the general Prohibitory liquor laws have been passed, the year of the passage, and repeal of each, if it has been repealed, and the political party or parties having control of the legislatures that passed or repealed each law, are as follows :

STATES.	PROHIBITORY LAW PASSED.		PROHIBITORY LAW REPEALED.	
	Year.	Party.	Year.	Party.
Maine	1851	Democratic.	1856	Democratic.
Illinois	1851	Democratic.	1853	Democratic.
Minnesota*	1852	Democratic.	1852	†
Vermont	1852	Whig.	....	.....
Michigan	1853	Democratic.	1853	†
Ohio	1854	Democratic.	1859	†
Connecticut	1854	Whig.	1872	Republican.
Iowa	1855	Democratic.	1856	Republican.
Indiana	1855	R. & K. N.	1858	†
Pennsylvania	1855	Whig.	1856	Democratic.
Nebraska	1855	Democratic.	1867	Republican.
Mississippi*	1855	Democratic.	1855	†
Texas	1855	Democratic.	1876	Democratic.
New York	1855	R. & K. N.	1855	†
Michigan	1855	Republican.	1875	Republican.
New Hampshire	1855	R. & K. N.	....	.....
Delaware	1855	American.	1857	American.
Maine	1858	Republican.	....	.....
Massachusetts	1869	Republican.	1875	Republican.
Rhode Island	1875	Republican.	1875	Republican.
South Carolina†	1881	Democratic.	....	.....
Kansas	1881	Republican.	....	.....
Iowa	1884	Republican.	....	.....
Rhode Island	1886	Republican.	1889	Republican.
North Dakota	1889	Republican.	....	.....
South Dakota	1889	Republican.	....	.....

* Applied to spirituous liquors only. † Applied to unincorporated districts. ‡ Declared void by the courts. § Nullified by weakening penalties.

Thus the parties that have passed prohibitory laws are: Democratic, 10; Republican, 9; Republican and Know Nothing, 3; Whig, 2; American, 1. The parties that have repealed prohibitory laws are: Democratic, 4; Republican, 7; American, 1.

Prohibitory Laws in Force in 1892.

The following is a brief summary of the laws, constitutional and statutory, in force in States that are under a general prohibitory law throughout their entire extent. It does not aim to be complete, but only to present the principal features of each State's laws. A much more exhaustive summary will be found in the article on Legislation in the "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition."

Maine.—The Constitutional Amendment, adopted September 8, 1884, provides: "The manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, not including cider, and the sale and keeping for sale of intoxicating liquors, are and shall be forever prohibited. Except, however, that the sale and keeping for sale of such liquors for medicinal and mechanical purposes and the arts, and the sale and keeping of cider, may be permitted under such rules as the legislature may provide." Previous to the passage of the Constitutional Amendment, a statutory prohibitory law had been in force since 1851, ex-

cept two years from 1856 to 1858. The Constitutional Amendment is reinforced by stringent statutory laws, among the features of which are: imprisonment two months and fine of \$1,000 for manufacturing intoxicating liquor for sale (except cider); peddlers taking orders fined \$20 to \$500; transporting liquors illegally, \$50 fine; common sellers fined \$50 and imprisoned 10 days for first offense, for subsequent offenses, 6 months and \$20; an officer may seize without a warrant liquor intended for unlawful sale; for advertising liquors, \$20 fine; the possession of a United States permit is *prima facie* evidence of common seller; bringing liquor into the State, or carrying it about, \$500 fine; keeping drinking place, \$100 and 60 days; agents are appointed to sell for medicinal, mechanical, and manufacturing purposes only, under bond of \$600, and if convicted of illegal selling, they are disqualified for the position.

Vermont.—A statutory prohibitory law has been in effect since 1852, though it has been amended and strengthened from time to time. No Constitutional Amendment has ever been submitted. Agents are appointed to sell for excepted purposes as in Maine, under bond of \$600; if anyone sells liquor in violation of law, he forfeits \$10 for first conviction, \$20 and one month imprisonment for second, \$20 and three to six months for third; common seller, first conviction, \$100; subsequent convictions, imprisonment four to twelve months; bringing liquor into the State, \$20; second conviction \$50 and three to ten months; places where liquor is kept and sold unlawfully are common nuisances, and shall be abated as such; tenant engaged in unlawful traffic forfeits rights to premises; lessor knowingly permitting such use, fined \$20 to \$200; officer neglecting to prosecute, fined \$20 to \$100; payment of United States special tax *prima facie* evidence of being a common seller, and of the place being a nuisance.

New Hampshire.—The prohibitory law is very defective, prohibiting sale only, and not manufacture. It was passed in 1855. Town agents may sell spirituous liquors to be used in the arts, and for medicinal, mechanical, and chemical purposes and wine for the sacrament, only; a person not a town agent who shall sell or keep for sale spirituous liquors shall be fined \$50, and for subsequent offenses, \$100 or 90 days' imprisonment or both; common seller, fined \$100 and imprisoned not more than six months; exposing signs, bottles, liquor labels, or a United States special tax receipt is *prima facie* evidence of violation of liquor law; domestic wine or cider—except to be drunk on the premises—is not prohibited, nor are sales of "original packages" as imported into the United States. A Constitutional Amendment was submitted in 1889, but was defeated.

Kansas.—The Constitutional Amendment, passed November 2, 1880, provides: "The manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors shall be forever prohibited in this State, except for medicinal, scientific, and mechanical purposes." Only druggists are permitted to sell for excepted purposes, under bond of \$1,000 not to violate the law; petition for such permit must be signed by 25 reputable women over 21 years of age; a physician prescribing or administering liquor in evasion of the law is fined \$100 to \$500 or be imprisoned 10 to 90 days; purchaser must make affidavit that he wants liquor for medicine and not for beverage; to manufacture for excepted purposes, one must have petition signed by 100 voters, and file bond for \$10,000 not to sell except to duly authorized druggists; persons selling without permit fined \$100 to \$500 and imprisonment 30 to 90 days, and a druggist not keeping a record of sales, the same; places where liquors are sold or manufactured unlawfully are nuisances, and the county attorney or any citizen may maintain action for abatement, and injunction shall be granted at commencement of each action, without bond; persons violating an injunction fined \$100 to \$500 and imprisoned 30 days to six months; any person causing the intoxication of another person is liable for the charge of the intoxicated person and \$6 a day besides; the county attorney may summon anyone he believes to have knowledge of a violation of the law; county attorneys failing to prosecute violations of the law are fined \$100 to \$500 and imprisoned 10 to 90 days and forfeit their offices; any person (not duly authorized) who receives an order for liquor shall be punished for selling; druggist selling to a person who he has been notified by relatives uses liquor as a beverage, punished as a seller; treating or giving liquor to any minor, punished by a fine of \$100 to \$500 and imprisonment 30 days to six months; common carriers knowingly delivering liquor to a person to be used unlawfully, \$100 to \$500 fine and 30 to 60 days' imprisonment; selling liquor in soldiers' homes, \$500 fine, or imprisonment 1 year, minimum, or both.

Iowa.—A Constitutional Amendment was adopted in 1882, but was invalidated through a clerical error that occurred in the journal of the legislature. A statutory law was passed in 1884, and strengthened by further enactment in 1886 and 1888. District Court may issue permits for the sale of intoxicating liquors for pharmaceutical and medicinal purposes, and wine for sacramental purposes; notice of application for a permit must be published three weeks in a newspaper of the city, town, or county; bond, \$1,000; permits are deemed trusts reposed in the recipients, not as matters of right.

and may be revoked by the court upon sufficient showing; a permit-holder must obtain through the county auditor a certificate authorizing him to purchase liquor; any person making false representation upon papers required under the act is fined \$20 to \$100 or imprisonment 10 to 30 days; selling without permit, by any device, \$50 to \$100 for first offense, \$300 to \$500 with imprisonment not exceeding six months for subsequent offenses; in cases of unlawful manufacture, sale, or keeping, the building or ground on which it happens is a nuisance, and the user is fined not over \$1,000; any citizen of the county may maintain an action to abate and perpetually enjoin the same, and any person violating such injunction shall be fined \$50 to \$1,000, or imprisoned not more than six months, or both; after conviction of keeping a nuisance, any person engaging in such unlawful business shall be imprisoned three months to one year; keeping a United States revenue permit posted in any place of business is evidence that the person owning it is engaged in unlawful selling; transporting liquor without a certificate from the auditor designating for whom it is intended, and that the party is duly authorized to sell for legitimate purposes, fined \$100; keeping a club or place where liquors are distributed, fined \$100 to \$500, and imprisonment 30 days to six months; persons making false statements to procure liquor of those authorized to sell, first offense \$10 fine, second offense \$20 fine and imprisonment 10 to 30 days.

North Dakota.—The Constitution, adopted in 1890, provides: "No person, association, or corporation shall within this State manufacture for sale or for gift any intoxicating liquor, and no person, association, or corporation shall import any of the same for sale or gift, or keep or sell, or offer the same for sale or gift, barter, or trade, as a beverage. The Legislative Assembly shall by law prescribe regulations for the enforcement of the provisions of this article, and shall thereby provide suitable penalties for the violations thereof." Any contravention of this constitutional prohibition is punished for the first offense by fine of \$200 to \$1,000 and imprisonment 90 days to one year; subsequent offenses, imprisonment one to two years; county judges issue to registered pharmacists permits to sell intoxicating liquor for medicinal, mechanical, and scientific purposes, and wine for sacramental purposes; a physician may prescribe liquor for a patient in absolute need of it; otherwise prescribing it is fined \$500 to \$800 with imprisonment 30 days to six months; sales by permit-holders are made upon printed affidavits minutely specifying intended use, and a false affidavit is punishable as perjury, by six months to two years' imprisonment; re-selling liquor obtained under such affidavit, \$100 to \$500 fine with imprisonment 30 to 90 days; druggists failing to record sales for inspection, or selling illegally, \$200 to \$1,000 fine, 90 days to one year imprisonment, and disqualified to have permit again for five years; State's attorneys failing to prosecute violations of the law, \$100 to \$500 fine and 30 to 90 days' imprisonment and forfeiture of office; places where liquors are sold or kept in violation of law are nuisances, and upon establishment of the fact shall be abated, injunction being granted at beginning of action; violation of injunction punished as illegal selling; clubs punished same as illegal sellers; giving away liquor and evasions of the law, deemed unlawful selling; treating or giving liquor to a minor, punished as illegal selling; carriers of liquors to be sold contrary to law, \$100 and \$500 fine and 30 to 60 days' imprisonment.

South Dakota.—The Constitution, adopted in 1890, provides: "No person shall manufacture or aid in the manufacture for sale, any intoxicating liquor; no person shall sell or keep for sale, as a beverage, any intoxicating liquor. The Legislature shall by law prescribe regulations for the enforcement of the provisions of this section, and provide suitable and adequate penalties for the violation thereof." The statutes provide that a violation of the foregoing shall be punished by a fine of \$100 to \$500 and imprisonment 60 days to six months; county judges may issue permits to registered pharmacists to sell for medicinal, mechanical, scientific, and sacramental purposes; any person signing a druggists' petition for a permit, knowing him to be in the habit of becoming intoxicated, or not in good faith in the pharmacy business, is fined \$50 to \$100, and a County Judge granting a permit to such an applicant is fined \$500 to \$1,000; any officer wilfully failing to perform duties imposed by this law, is fined \$100 to \$500, imprisoned 60 days to six months, and forfeits his office. Injunction provisions are same as in North Dakota.

Extent of Territory Covered by Prohibition.

The States included in the foregoing summary have an aggregate area of 339,460 square miles, and an aggregate population of 5,220,477 people. This does not include Alaska, with its 577,390 square miles of territory and 31,795 inhabitants, nor Indian territory, with its 31,400 square miles of territory and 74,997 inhabitants. Adding those to the

States named the total territory covered by prohibitory laws is 948,250 square miles, or 26 per cent. of the entire domain in the United States. The population is 5,827,269, or about 9 per cent. of the total population. This does not take into account the territory under local Prohibition laws which is considerable—probably as much more, with a population fully as great. It is not possible, however, to make an accurate estimate from data at hand.

Principal Objections Made Against Prohibition.

The objections most frequently urged against Prohibition are (1) that it does not prohibit; or, in other words, that men who want to traffic in intoxicating liquors will not obey laws forbidding such traffic; (2) that it deprives the State and municipality of an important source of revenue, and hence increases taxation; (3) that it injures business; (4) that it drives away population; (5) that it infringes "personal liberty"; (6) that the result aimed at may be better attained by some other method. To the philosophical argument involved in these objections, a very complete answer will be found in "Prohibition, the Principle, the Policy, and the Party," (see list of books relating to the drink problem, pages 99-104). The reader will apply for himself to these objections the facts related in the following paragraphs.

How Prohibition Affects Property Valuation.

Census Bulletin No. 192, issued by the Census Bureau under date of June 4, 1892, is a statement of the total assessed valuation of real and personal property, in each of the States and Territories, for the census year 1890, as compared with the previous census of 1880. The table on next page is taken entirely from the bulletin, except the last column, which we have figured out from the two preceding columns. It should be observed that the "assessed valuation" of property in two different States may be in an entirely different ratio to the actual value, and hence that comparisons between different States, unless this fact is taken into account, might be unfair. Thus, while the \$962.12 per capita in Massachusetts represents about two-thirds of the actual value, the \$203.63 per capita in Kansas represents only about one-fifth of the actual value. In comparing the same States at two different periods the same would be true if the ratio of assessed to actual value had been changed. We infer, however, that such has not been the case, except in Illinois, where the fact is stated in the foot-note of the Census table. It will be observed that, among the Eastern States, Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire have the largest increase in the per capita valuation of property. Two of these States have rock-ribbed Prohibition, while the other has Prohibition just enough to "ruin business"! Of the Western States, Iowa has had a small increase, while the neighboring State of Illinois has suffered a decrease. Kansas has increased 26.06 per cent. per capita, while her neighboring High License State of Nebraska has suffered a decrease of 12.86 per cent. per capita. The great increase in the very new States is not especially significant, though it will be seen that the Prohibition State of South Dakota leads all the rest in increase per cent.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	TOTAL ASSESSED VALUATION.		ASSESSED VALUATION PER CAPITA.		Increase pr. cent. of per capita valuation.
	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.	
Total.....	\$16,902,933,543	\$24,249,589,804	\$337.01	\$387.62	15.02
Alabama.....	122,807,228	197,080,441	97.32	130.20	33.85
Arizona.....	9,270,214	21,434,767	229.23	359.52	56.80
Arkansas.....	86,409,364	175,037,362	107.67	155.15	44.10
California.....	584,578,036	1,098,541,564	676.05	909.29	34.50
Colorado.....	74,471,603	188,911,325	383.23	458.30	19.59
Connecticut....	327,177,385	358,913,906	525.42	480.95	-6.18
Delaware.....	59,951,643	2174,134,401	408.92	439.99	7.60
Dist. Columbia.	99,401,787	153,307,541	559.62	665.42	18.91
Florida.....	30,938,300	76,826,938	114.80	196.53	71.11
Georgia.....	239,472,599	377,366,784	155.28	205.39	32.27
Idaho.....	6,440,876	25,581,305	197.51	303.15	53.48
Illinois.....	6786,616,394	6727,416,252	255.57	190.11	-25.61
Indiana.....	727,815,131	846,687,648	367.90	386.19	7.61
Iowa.....	398,671,251	530,695,141	245.39	277.58	13.08
Kansas.....	160,891,689	348,459,944	161.52	244.17	51.17
Kentucky.....	350,563,971	512,615,506	212.63	275.80	29.66
Louisiana.....	160,162,439	234,320,780	170.40	209.48	22.93
Maine.....	236,978,716	309,129,101	363.64	477.61	28.59
Maryland.....	497,307,675	528,529,489	531.91	507.04	-4.58
Massachusetts..	1,584,756,802	2,154,134,626	888.77	962.12	8.37
Michigan.....	517,606,359	927,577,728	316.24	442.99	40.08
Minnesota.....	258,028,687	588,531,743	330.48	452.08	36.79
Mississippi.....	110,628,129	166,464,912	97.76	129.08	32.04
Missouri.....	532,795,801	786,343,753	245.71	293.50	19.45
Montana.....	18,609,802	106,392,892	475.24	695.04	69.38
Nebraska.....	90,585,782	184,770,305	200.28	174.49	-12.86
Nevada.....	29,291,459	24,663,385	470.42	538.96	14.55
New Hampshire..	164,755,181	252,732,016	474.81	671.19	41.36
New Jersey.....	572,518,361	688,309,187	506.15	476.36	-5.83
New Mexico....	11,363,406	246,041,010	95.04	299.76	215.40
New York.....	2,651,940,006	3,775,325,938	521.74	629.45	20.64
North Carolina..	156,100,202	212,697,287	111.52	131.46	17.89
North Dakota...	8,786,572	78,885,143	238.06	431.73	80.23
Ohio.....	1,534,390,508	1,778,138,457	479.78	484.20	.92
Oregon.....	52,522,084	166,025,731	300.52	529.14	75.74
Pennsylvania...	1,683,459,016	2,593,446,336	398.07	493.24	25.43
Rhode Island...	252,536,673	321,764,593	918.23	931.28	1.98
South Carolina..	133,560,135	150,088,651	134.15	130.38	-2.81
South Dakota....	11,534,958	131,592,587	117.38	400.21	240.36
Tennessee.....	211,778,538	347,508,105	137.31	196.61	43.19
Texas.....	330,564,515	719,264,302	201.27	321.74	59.85
Utah.....	24,775,279	104,758,750	172.09	508.88	192.80
Vermont.....	86,906,775	171,283,543	261.24	515.26	97.24
Virginia.....	308,455,135	391,798,609	208.93	226.60	16.02
Washington.....	23,810,698	203,715,050	316.99	553.06	60.78
West Virginia...	139,622,705	169,927,587	225.76	222.77	-1.32
Wisconsin.....	438,971,751	592,890,719	333.69	351.47	5.32
Wyoming.....	13,621,829	231,431,493	655.24	517.77	-20.98

(a) Annual report of 1889. (b) The state board of equalization declares that in 1880 the assessed value was 50 per cent. and in 1890 only 25 per cent. of the true value, hence the reduction. N. B.—Numbers preceded by a minus sign (—) in last column indicate a decrease.

Finances of Maine.

The United States Census Bureau, in a bulletin published under date of Feb. 23, 1892, compares the valuation and taxation of property and the State and local indebtedness of Maine in 1890 with the same in 1880, and the following is a condensation of that bulletin :

Valuation, Taxation, and Indebtedness.	1880.	1890.	Per cent of Increase.*	PER CAPITA.	
				1880.	1890.
VALUATION:					
Real Estate.....	\$173,856,242	\$233,946,682	34.56	\$267.91	\$353.88
Personal Property.	62,122,474	75,183,019	21.02	95.73	118.73
Total	235,978,716	309,129,101	31.00	363.64	467.61
TAXATION:					
State.....	827,531	295,100	-64.34	1.28	0.45
State, for schools.	235,979	236,600	0.26	0.36	0.36
Counties.....	324,401	335,983	3.56	0.50	0.51
Minor divisions (schools excep'd).	3,092,678	3,110,889	0.59	4.77	4.71
Minor divis'ns for schools	701,546	944,356	34.61	1.08	1.43
Total.....	5,182,135	4,922,858	-5.00	7.99	7.45
INDEBTEDNESS, STATE AND LOCAL:					
Bonded.....	22,301,103	15,787,025	-29.21	34.37	23.88
Floating.....	3,156,592	2,795,342	-11.44	4.86	4.23
Total.....	25,457,695	18,582,367	-27.01	39.23	28.11
Less Sinking Fund	2,221,715	2,961,590	34.20	3.42	4.51
Net Indebtedness.	23,235,980	15,600,777	-32.86	35.81	23.60

* Numbers preceded by a minus sign (—) represent a decrease.

These statistics are further analyzed by the Census Bulletin, with regard to places of over 2,500 population and places of less than 2,500 population. It is admitted that Prohibition is better enforced in the small towns and rural districts, yet the valuation *per capita* of real estate increased more than twice as much (\$220.07 to \$311, or 41 per cent.), as in the larger towns (\$338.53 to \$405.94, or 20 per cent.); and taxation decreased in the smaller places from \$5.84 per capita in 1880 to \$5.09 per capita in 1890, or 13 per cent., while it decreased in the larger towns from \$11.15 in 1880 to \$10.31 in 1890, or 7½ per cent.; indebtedness, which is very small in the small places, decreased from \$7.91 *per capita* in 1880 to \$5.51 in 1890, while in the larger places it decreased from \$53.93 to \$32.47.

Prohibition and Savings Bank Deposits.

The money deposited in the Quincy Savings Bank, of Quincy, Mass., increased from \$1,034,392 in 1881 to \$1,606,564 in 1890—the town

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Florida.....	30,938,309	76,826,938	114.80	196.53	71.11
Georgia.....	239,472,509	377,366,784	155.28	205.39	32.27
Idaho.....	6,440,876	25,581,305	197.51	303.15	53.48
Illinois.....	678,616,394	672,416,252	255.57	190.11	-25.61
Indiana.....	727,815,131	846,687,648	367.90	386.19	7.61
Iowa.....	398,671,251	530,695,141	245.39	277.58	13.08
Kansas.....	160,891,689	348,459,944	161.52	244.17	51.17
Kentucky.....	350,563,971	512,615,506	212.63	275.80	29.66
Louisiana.....	160,163,439	234,320,780	170.40	209.48	22.93
Maine.....	235,978,716	309,129,101	363.64	477.61	28.59
Maryland.....	497,307,675	528,529,489	531.91	507.04	-4.38
Massachusetts..	1,584,756,802	2,154,134,626	888.77	962.12	8.37
Michigan.....	517,666,359	927,577,728	316.24	442.99	40.08
Minnesota.....	258,028,687	588,531,743	330.48	452.08	36.70
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New Hampshire	164,755,181	252,722,016	474.81	671.19	41.20
New Jersey.....	572,518,361	688,309,187	506.15	476.36	-5.89
New Mexico.....	11,363,406	446,041,010	95.04	229.76	215.46
New York.....	2,651,940,006	3,775,325,938	521.73	629.45	20.91
North Carolina..	156,100,202	212,697,287	171.71	131.40	-23.81
North Dakota..	8,786,572	78,885,145	78.88	31.72	-59.61
Ohio.....	1,534,360,508	1,778,138,000	166.00	166.00	0.00
Oregon.....	52,522,084	106,000,000	106.00	106.00	0.00
Pennsylvania....	1,683,459,016	2,590,000,000	259.00	259.00	0.00
Rhode Island....	252,536,673	322,000,000	322.00	322.00	0.00
South Carolina..	133,560,135	200,000,000	200.00	200.00	0.00
South Dakota....	11,534,968	200,000,000	200.00	200.00	0.00
Tennessee.....	211,778,530	300,000,000	300.00	300.00	0.00
Texas.....	320,364,000	500,000,000	500.00	500.00	0.00
Utah.....	24,000,000	500,000,000	500.00	500.00	0.00
Vermont.....	80,000,000	500,000,000	500.00	500.00	0.00
Virginia.....	90,000,000	500,000,000	500.00	500.00	0.00
Washington.....	100,000,000	500,000,000	500.00	500.00	0.00
West Virginia...	100,000,000	500,000,000	500.00	500.00	0.00
Wisconsin.....	100,000,000	500,000,000	500.00	500.00	0.00
Wyoming.....	100,000,000	500,000,000	500.00	500.00	0.00

(a) Amount
that in 1880
of the
minus

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Counties.....	324,401	335,963	3.56	0.50	0.51
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Deposits.

Savings Bank, of Quir
\$1,606,564 in 1890—th

being No-license all the time. In the same period two new savings banks were established on the co-operative plan, the older of which had on Jan. 1, 1891, 257 members, whose deposits aggregated \$25,915, while the other had 269 members, whose deposits aggregated \$19,230.

The deposits in the savings banks of Maine have shown a steady increase for a number of years. The increase from 1890 to 1891 was \$2,497,285.54, the aggregate amount in the former year being \$47,781,166.90, in the latter year \$50,278,452.44. The total number of depositors increased from 140,521 to 146,668.

Prohibition and Taxation.

During the Nebraska Amendment campaign of 1890, the *Voice* obtained from a majority of the county treasurers of that State, and also from a majority of the county treasurers of the near-by Prohibition States of Iowa and Kansas, reports as to the assessed valuation, rates of taxation, and ratio of assessed to actual valuation in 1889, in their respective counties. The results of that investigation were summarized as follows (*Voice* of Oct. 30, 1890):

STATE.	Average County Tax on \$100 Assessed Valuation.	Average State Tax on \$100 Assessed Valuation.	Average State and County Tax on \$100 Ass'd Val'n.	Average County Tax on \$100 Assessed Valuation.	Average State and County Tax on \$100 Actual Value.
Iowa (72 Counties).....	.884	.25	1.134	.269	.350
Nebraska (68 Counties).....	1.577	.65	2.227	.277	.391
Kansas (73 Counties).....	.939	.41	1.349	.274	.372

The above refers only to county and State taxes. The city treasurers of a number of cities furnished to the *Voice* of October 2, 1891, the reports summarized on opposite page, regarding taxation in their respective cities, in 1889, for municipal purposes.

City taxes vary so greatly from local reasons, economical or extravagant city government, local improvements, etc., that it is exceedingly difficult to make a comparison from which just conclusions can be drawn. The most that can be said is that *the fact of Prohibition* does not make taxes higher than in cities receiving large sums from license fees. To show this, it is necessary only to show that there are prosperous, growing cities in Prohibition States whose tax-rates are not higher than those of similar cities in license States, and that cities in the same State (either License or Prohibition) show as great a difference in municipal tax-rates as cities under different systems of saloon laws, and therefore that such differences are due entirely to *local* reasons, such as those above mentioned. The five or six representative cities selected from each of the following States are examples merely.

	Assessed valuation of all property, real or personal (1889).	Tax levied for city purposes, including school (1889).	\$100 of assessed valuation represents.	Rate on \$100 of assessed valuation.	Rate on \$100 of actual valuation.
KANSAS.					
Topeka.....	\$9,228,838.80	\$278,710.93	\$500	\$3.02	\$.60
Kansas City.....	8,000,000.00	237,600.00	350	2.97	.85
Salina.....	1,735,189.79	50,667.54	400	2.92	.73
Ottawa.....	1,300,000.00	43,500.00	400	3.35	.84
Abilene.....	815,000.00	29,340.00	450	3.60	.80
NEBRASKA.					
Omaha.....	20,047,589.00	994,881.42	700	4.96	.71
Lincoln.....	5,600,000.00	217,342.05	600	3.95	.66
Grand Island.....	1,069,068.00	44,701.30	600	4.22	.70
Fremont.....	837,000.00	35,363.25*	800	4.25	.53
Wahoo.....	290,000.00	11,890.00	500	4.10	.82
MISSOURI.					
St. Joseph.....	23,610,000.00	339,465.00†	230	1.65	.72
Hannibal.....	3,402,890.00	62,952.34	150	1.85	1.24
Carthage.....	1,645,678.00	81,267.88	300	1.90	.63
Moberly.....	1,050,000.00	25,200.00	300	2.40	.80
Clinton.....	1,114,020.00	16,710.30	200	1.50	.75
IOWA.					
Burlington.....	4,393,445.00	184,446.78	400	4.20	1.05
Cedar Rapids.....	3,172,300.00	90,029.32†	400	2.84	.71
Des Moines.....	11,398,840.00	331,648.04‡	500	2.91	.58
Dubuque.....	17,868,940.00	188,500.09‡	200	1.05	.52
Muscatine.....	2,462,567.00	66,489.30	300	2.70	.90
Oskaloosa.....	1,299,979.00	57,005.47	400	4.43	1.11
Waterloo.....	1,035,689.00	89,515.08	250	3.73	1.50
MICHIGAN.					
Jackson.....	7,037,040.00	148,509.93	300	2.11	.70
East Saginaw.....	10,665,220.00	251,353.20	150	2.36	1.57
Saginaw.....	5,300,000.00	112,800.00	150	2.13	1.42
Battle Creek.....	3,780,151.00	48,500.00‡	200	1.28	.64
Manistee.....	2,378,610.00	69,931.13	300	2.94	.98
MINNESOTA.					
Minneapolis.....	127,101,861.00	2,948,290.95	400	2.32	.58
Duluth.....	22,047,322.00	414,489.65	.....	1.88	.....
Winona.....	6,832,228.00	193,818.66	250	2.01	1.16
Red Wing.....	1,770,988.00	27,967.33‡	300	1.58	.53
Hastings.....	1,186,790.00	19,049.61	150	1.60	1.07
Brainerd.....	1,641,621.00	34,474.04	150	2.10	1.40
Anoka.....	1,417,531.00	30,496.92	200	2.15	1.08
WISCONSIN.					
Madison.....	6,396,917.00	79,618.57	150	1.24	.83
Milwaukee.....	100,498,200.00	1,831,746.71	200	1.82	.91
Oshkosh.....	7,093,005.00	167,040.56	200	2.35	1.18
Sheboygan.....	3,742,435.00	97,951.35	250	2.62	1.05
Appleton.....	3,504,725.00	84,176.60	300	2.40	.80
Manitowoc.....	1,821,325.00	46,291.65	200	2.54	1.27

* Fremont's report does not include water-works and interest on water bond and court house and intersection bonds.

† Not stated whether or not school tax is included.

‡ School tax not included.

§ Saginaw and East Saginaw are now one.

Sales of Fermented Liquors in Prohibition States.

As will be seen by the table on page 10, the liquor trade report no sales of fermented liquors in Maine and Vermont. The sales in Kansas fell off as follows:

1886.....	17,482 gallons.
1891.....	2,050 gallons.

In Iowa the falling off was less striking, but still it was marked:

1886.....	197,372 gallons.
1891.....	105,943 gallons.

Prohibition and Whiskey-Drinking.

It is admitted on all hands that the traffic in fermented liquors is seriously interfered with by Prohibition. But it is frequently asserted that whiskey and the stronger beverages take the place of beer. By the diagrams on pages 7, 8, and 9, and the table on page 23 it will be seen that the collections of Internal Revenue from the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits and the number of dealers in Prohibition States as compared with license States of the same group, do not indicate that the assertion is true. A few other facts will serve to indicate further the gratuitous character of the assertion:

Of the total collections of Internal Revenue from spirituous liquors in the United States in 1884, Iowa, then under license, contributed.....	2.9739 per cent.
Of the same in 1891, Iowa contributed.....	.1205 per cent.
Of the total collections from the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors in the United States in 1880, Kansas, then in its last year of license, contributed.....	.1434 per cent.
Of the same in 1891, Kansas contributed.....	.0474 per cent.
The total collections <i>per capita</i> from the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits in the whole country in 1887 was.....	\$1.128
The collections <i>per capita</i> from distilled spirits in Maine in 1887* were.....	.028
The collections <i>per capita</i> from distilled spirits in Vermont in 1887* were.....	.035

* In 1887 Vermont and Maine were consolidated in the collection district of New Hampshire, and their separate collections in subsequent years are not obtainable.

Drug-Store Traffic in Prohibition States.

A great deal has been made of the argument that drug-stores in Prohibition States sell large quantities of spirituous liquors for beverage purposes. This argument is effectually disposed of by Census Bulletin No. 22*, dated January 20, 1891, which treats of "Distilled Spirits Consumed in the Arts, Manufactures, and Medicine," and gives the figures of such consumption as furnished by the drug trade. These figures include spirits used in medicinal compounds which are frequently but thinly disguised beverages. The time covered by the investigation is the year ended December 31, 1889. The following are the figures of the *retail* trade for the States of the North Atlantic and North Central divisions, from which it will be observed that the sales *per capita* in Prohibition States are not any larger than in license States, notwithstanding the fact that in the latter the saloons are sufficient to supply the beverage traffic, and much of the liquor prescribed by physicians is presumably purchased at saloons instead of drug-stores, in which case it is not included in the table.

STATES.	SPIRITS MORE COMMONLY USED FOR BEVERAGE PURPOSES.					Per Capita.	Alcohol, Cologne, Spirits, and High Wines.	Per Capita.
	Whiskey.	Brandy.	Rum.	Gin.	Total.			
	<i>Gals.</i>	<i>Gals.</i>	<i>Gals.</i>	<i>Gals.</i>	<i>Gals.</i>	<i>Gls.</i>	<i>Gals.</i>	<i>Gls.</i>
Maine.....	10,047	1,359	5,049	2,610	19,065	.029	9,873	.015
New Hampshire.....	15,709	2,313	6,944	4,609	29,575	.079	12,793	.034
Vermont.....	7,110	726	1,648	1,186	10,670	.032	11,461	.034
Massachusetts.....	93,958	13,680	45,333	27,405	180,376	.081	71,503	.031
Rhode Island.....	10,571	1,442	4,032	2,562	18,607	.054	3,941	.011
Connecticut.....	36,797	6,569	10,117	15,229	68,712	.092	43,776	.059
New York.....	142,180	22,380	12,320	19,583	196,463	.033	205,410	.036
New Jersey.....	16,479	4,290	1,129	3,317	25,215	.017	29,275	.020
Pennsylvania.....	59,229	10,287	1,911	6,105	77,532	.015	113,745	.022
Total	392,080	63,046	88,483	82,606	626,215	.036	501,777	.022
Ohio.....	72,150	7,240	1,366	6,734	87,490	.024	36,458	.010
Indiana	84,364	12,933	860	7,935	106,092	.049	15,638	.007
Illinois.....	51,260	8,729	1,466	5,008	66,463	.017	25,974	.006
Michigan.....	55,276	9,083	2,003	6,090	72,402	.035	26,337	.013
Wisconsin.....	19,615	4,474	707	1,472	26,268	.016	14,472	.009
Minnesota.....	10,562	3,003	390	1,069	15,024	.012	2,011	.002
Iowa.....	17,327	1,738	255	1,431	20,651	.011	10,339	.005
Missouri.....	95,156	8,724	417	4,920	109,217	.041	16,819	.007
North Dakota.....	2,385	453	100	175	3,113	.016	1,576	.008
South Dakota.....	2,228	332	68	174	2,802	.009	1,301	.004
Nebraska.....	12,580	2,453	204	1,024	16,261	.015	3,582	.003
Kansas.....	25,517	1,825	88	1,510	28,940	.020	3,596	.003
Total.....	448,320	60,937	7,924	37,542	554,723	.025	156,103	.007

* See page 6 for a summary of this Bulletin.

The figures in the Census Bulletin were partly proof gallons, partly ordinary gallons. In the foregoing table the proof gallons have been added in with the ordinary gallons.

The States of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Iowa, and Kansas were under Prohibition all or the greater part of the time covered by the investigation. North Dakota and South Dakota did not adopt Prohibition until later. The six Prohibition States compare with the 15 license States included in the table and with the whole country as follows:

STATES.	Beverage Spirits.	Per Capita.	Other Spirits.	Per Capita.	Total.	Per Capita.
6 Prohibit'n States.	127,508	.025	52,003	.016	179,511	.035
15 License States ..	1,053,430	.027	605,887	.015	1,659,307	.042
Whole Unit'd States	1,483,130	.024	764,584	.012	2,247,714	.036

The above figures are for the retail trade only. The figures for the entire amount of spirituous liquors consumed in the arts, manufactures, and medicine, as stated by this Census Bulletin are:

STATES.	Beverage Spirits.	Per Capita.	Other Spirits.	Per Capita.	Total.	Per Capita.
6 Prohibit'n States	211,524	.042	382,483	.076	594,007	.118
Whole Unit'd States	2,702,650	.132	8,274,192	.043	10,976,842	.175

Prohibition and "Original Packages."

The pressure which Prohibition exerts upon the liquor traffic was relieved for a short time in 1890 by the "Original Package" decision* of the United States Supreme Court. That famous decision was rendered April 28, 1890, and Congress passed the law subjecting original packages to State laws August 11, 1890. The increase in "Federal permits" to original package dealers, therefore, would not appear for the special tax year ended April 30, 1890. But the in-

*The "Original Package" decision was, in brief, that a State cannot, without a special act of Congress, prohibit or restrain by taxation the importation into the State from another State of a legitimate article of interstate commerce, provided the article be in the original, unbroken package in which it was shipped; and the imported package was held not to have mingled with the common mass of property in the State and become subject to State laws until the sale was completed, and the package delivered to the purchaser. The law passed by Congress empowered a State to make an exception of intoxicating liquor, and defined that article as having come under the operation of State laws when it came within the boundary of the State.

ternal Revenue Department has furnished the *Voice* (April 16, 1891), the equated number of special tax payers for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1890, and covering, therefore, two months of the original package period. Appended below is a comparison of the number of "Federal permits" taken out in Iowa and Kansas for these two years, ten months of which overlap, and the difference between which seems to be due to the relaxation of prohibitory laws under the original package regime, from May 1 to June 30:

STATE.	SPECIAL TAX YEAR, ENDED APRIL 30, 1890.			FISCAL YEAR, ENDED JUNE 30, 1890.			INCREASE FOR TWO "ORIGINAL PACKAGE" MONTHS.				
	Liq'r Dealers.*			Liq'r Dealers.*			Liquor Dealers.*				
	Sp'tu's	Malt.	Total.	Sp'tu's	Malt.	Total.	Sp'tu's	Malt.	Total In- crease.	Per Cent. of In- crease.	
Iowa.....	3,255	253	3,508	4,165	370	4,535	910	117	1,027	32	
Kansas.....	1,276	153	1,429	1,638	291	1,929	362	138	500	40	

* Wholesale and retail combined,

Prohibition and Population.

The claim made by the advocates of license that prohibitory liquor laws drive away desirable elements of population, and interfere with the normal growth of States and localities under such laws, is not borne out by population statistics. Kansas increased in population from 996,006 in 1880 to 1,427,096 in 1890, an aggregate of 431,000, or 43.27 per cent., which was greater than the increase of Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, or California—all growing States under various systems of license. Iowa's increase in population from 1880 to 1890 was greater than that of Illinois, exclusive of the city of Chicago, and greater than that of Indiana or Ohio. Iowa's increase, moreover, was greater from 1885 to 1890 (1,753,960 to 1,911,896) under Prohibition than from 1880 to 1885 (1,624,615 to 1,753,960) under license. The population of Maine and Vermont is chiefly rural, and those States have contributed, with the other New England States, largely to the great increase in Western populations. Nevertheless, their growth in population has been about the same as that of other New England States, exclusive of the large cities.

Prohibition Compared with License in Connecticut.

The State of Connecticut was under Prohibition for the seven years from 1866 to 1872, and its criminal reports for the period shows as follows: *

The total commitments to the county jails of Connecticut, for drunkenness, assault and battery, breach of peace and vagrancy, for the seven years from 1866 to 1872, under Prohibition, were.....	9,120
The same for the seven years from 1873 to 1879, under license and Local Option, were.....	18,674

* See "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition," page 527.

No-License Cities Compared with License Cities.

The Local Option system of Massachusetts, by which each city and town votes annually on the question of License or No-license of saloons for the succeeding year, furnishes an opportunity to compare the two policies. The reports of the Prison Commissioners of the State for 1889, 1890, and 1891 (year ended September 30) give the following statistics of arrests and arrests for drunkenness in the several cities of the State (except Chicopee, Marlboro, and Pittsfield, which did not become cities until January 1, 1891):

CITY.	Popu- lation (1890)	TOTAL ARRESTS.			ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS.		
		1889.	1890.	1891.	1889.	1890.	1891.
Boston.....	448,477	37,592	35,766	37,047	25,244	24,518	25,726
Brockton.....	27,294	668	720	838	407	481	486
Cambridge....	70,028	1,409	1,617	2,116	696	754	935
Chelsea.....	27,909	1,370	1,171	1,451	896	814	899
Fall River....	74,898	2,320	2,442	2,337	1,861	1,561	1,231
Fitchburg....	22,037	667	613	998	470	439	708
Gloucester....	24,651	794	805	945	439	479	593
Haverhill	27,412	745	870	1,369	455	550	912
Holyoke.....	35,637	1,211	1,153	1,239	660	655	691
Lawrence.....	44,654	1,860	2,416	2,783	1,105	1,698	1,875
Lowell.....	77,696	4,305	3,836	4,803	3,219	2,787	3,668
Lynn.....	55,727	2,299	2,540	2,842	1,676	1,174	1,960
Malden.....	23,031	460	441	481	123	105	172
New Bedford..	40,738	1,493	1,547	1,520	991	1,083	1,015
Newburyport..	18,947	833	720	792	647	565	579
Newton.....	24,379	639	768	1,029	316	392	625
Northampton..	14,990	347	353	404	261	297	338
Quincy.....	16,723	160	200	218	76	114	132
Salem.....	30,801	1,502	1,244	1,362	1,166	921	999
Somerville....	40,152	1,185	1,101	1,266	759	694	808
Springfield..	44,179	2,203	2,204	1,972	1,567	1,625	1,421
Taunton.....	25,448	891	798	995	674	593	720
Waltham.....	18,707	582	849	1,140	362	587	824
Woburn.....	13,499	528	428	520	308	260	337
Worcester....	64,655	3,837	3,269	3,719	2,935	2,301	2,670
Other Cities	1,327,164	69,893	67,671	74,182	46,808	45,982	50,309
and Towns..	913,371	13,223*	13,173†	12,932	6,350	6,833	6,203
	2,250,535	83,116	80,844	87,114	53,158	52,814	56,512

* Not including any report from towns of Blanford and Brookfield, population in 1890, 3,967.

† Not including any report from the town of West Brookfield, population in 1890, 1,592.

Of the above cities, the ones italicized were under local Prohibition for the entire time. The following table presents a comparison of the License and No-license towns with regard to the ratio of arrests for drunkenness to the total and the average per cent. of arrests and arrests for drunkenness to the population:

MONTHS.	Total Arrests		Arrests for Drunkenness.	
	1887. Prohibition.	1888. \$1,000 License.	1887. Prohibition.	1888. \$1,000 License.
January.....	349	575	59	190
February.....	352	571	85	184
March.....	400	667	68	216
April.....	468	650	78	139
May.....	540	642	73	131
June.....	541	623	70	108
July.....	567	733	80	136
August.....	699	724	84	171
September.....	578	620	92	195
Totals.....	4,524	5,805	674	1,519

The arrests each year in Atlanta, from 1883 to 1889, according to the police department's statistics, were as follows:*

Year.	LIQUOR LAW.	Pop- ulation.	Total Arrests.	Populat'n to 1 Arrest.
1883	Low License.....	49,517	5,578	8.8
1884	Low License.....	53,812	5,824	9.2
1885	Low License.....	56,837	6,305	9.0
1886	Six months Prohibition.....	60,000	5,578	10.7
1887	Prohibition.....	65,000	6,188	10.3
1888	High License.....	70,000	7,817	8.9
1889	High License.....	75,000	10,379	7.2

The *Atlanta Constitution*, which never fully espoused Prohibition, in its issue of June 21, 1887, commenting on the falling off of arrests, said:

"There has been 40 per cent. falling off in the number of arrests, notwithstanding there has been a rigid interpretation of the law, under which arrests are made. Formerly, if a man was sober enough to walk home, he was not molested. Now, if there is the slightest variation from the state in which the center of gravity falls in a line inside the base, the party is made to answer for such variation at the station house."

Low License, No-License, and High License in Charleston, W. Va.

Total arrests for the year ended April 30, 1886, under \$300 license.....	423
Total arrests for the year ended April 30, 1887, no-license.....	226
Total arrests for the year ended April 30, 1888, under \$850 license.....	495

* Economics of Prohibition, page 293.

Prohibition Compared with License in Providence.

The State of Rhode Island was under Prohibition from July, 1886, to June, 1889. The Police Statistics of the City of Providence show the following:

Total arrests for all offenses in the City of Providence from January to June, 1886, six months before Prohibition went into effect.....	3,075
Total arrests for all offenses for the corresponding period of 1887, under Prohibition, after the law had been in effect six months.....	2,061
Total arrests for the first six months after license was restored (July to December, 1889).....	3,509
Arrests for drunkenness, disorderly conduct and revelling for the last six months before Prohibition went into effect....	2,368
Same for six months of Prohibition.....	1,521

High License and Low License in Large Cities.

Of the 15 largest cities in the United States, the police statistics of which are analyzed on pages 34-5, six — Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Detroit — were under High License, \$500 or over; while the other nine, New York, Brooklyn, Baltimore, San Francisco, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Buffalo, New Orleans, and Washington were under low license, or a very moderate fee, not over \$250. The average population to each arrest, the average population to each arrest for drink offenses, and the per cent. which arrests for drink offenses form of the total arrests in each group is as follows:

GROUPS OF CITIES.	Population to each Arrest.	Population to each Arrest for a Drink Offense	Per Cent. Drink Arrests Form of Total
Six High License Cities....	17.7	23.5	75.5
Nine Low License Cities...	15.6	22.6	68.9

The High License cities seem to have the advantage in the relative amount of crime to the population, but a much larger per cent. of the total arrests are for drink offenses. Moreover, the High License city of Pittsburgh has the largest proportion of arrests for drink offenses to population, while Boston follows close after Washington, and the High License cities are kept down in their average only by St. Louis, which has a most abominable police system, in the matter of arresting and classifying "drunks."

The *Voice* in 1889 obtained police and excise statistics from 41 High License cities, having an aggregate population of 4,455,189, and an average license fee of \$665 annually; and from 79 Low License cities,

having a population of 4,599,957 and an average license fee of \$129 annually. It was found that the population to each saloon, the total arrests, the arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct and the per cent. which arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct form of the total arrests, were as follows:

GROUPS OF CITIES.*	Population to each Saloon.	Total Number of Arrests.	Arrests for Drunkenness and Disorderly Conduct	Population to each Drunk and Disorderly.	Per Cent. Drunks and Disorderlies form of Total.
41 High License Cities.....	362	216,132	121,877	36.6	56
79 Low License Cities.....	179	230,877	122,179	37.6	53

* For these cities in detail, see the *Voice* of December 26, 1899, or "Cyclo-pedia of Temperance and Prohibition," pages 210 and 211.

High License in Massachusetts.

The State of Massachusetts, in 1888, adopted a High License law, limiting the number of saloons to one in 1,000 population (one in 500 in Boston), and placing the license fee at \$1,000 minimum. Reference to the table of Massachusetts criminal statistics on page 34, will show that there was a considerable increase in 1889 and 1890 over 1888 and 1887 in the matter of arrests and of arrests for drunkenness. The statistics of the number of saloons, total arrests and arrests for drunkenness in several of the larger cities of the State from 1886 to 1889, are given below:

	License Fee.	Number of Saloons.	Total Arrests.	Arrests for Drunkenness.
BOSTON —				
1886.....	\$250	1,363	28,510	16,179
1887.....	350	1,287	30,661	19,141
1888.....	400	1,199	36,000	23,044
1889.....	1,000	583	40,066	24,991
LOWELL —				
1886.....	\$250	379	3,393	2,220
1887.....	250	419	3,464	2,501
1888.....	500	217	4,150	2,930
1889.....	1,300	64	4,557	3,307
FALL RIVER —				
1886.....	No report	No report	2,455	1,392
1887.....	\$500	350	1,932	1,154
1888.....	1,000	200	2,372	1,248
1889.....	1,300	56	2,414	1,530
LYNN —				
1886.....	No report	No report	1,633	942
1887.....	No report	No report	1,662	1,021
1888.....	\$400	118	2,266	1,641
1889.....	1,300	45	2,477	1,779

In the foregoing cities, the aggregate number of saloons was reduced from 2,236 in 1888 to 900 in 1889, or over 60 per cent., and at the same time the arrests for all crimes increased from 58,107 to 61,589, or over eight per cent., while the arrests for drunkenness increased from 36,626 to 40,037, or over nine per cent.

The license year in Massachusetts ends May 1, and the police year usually with the calendar year (in Boston it is Nov. 30); so that the year 1889 does not represent an entire year under High License. The difference between the figures for 1889 here, and on page 54, is due to the fact that the year there taken by the Prison Commissioners ended Sept. 30.

High License in Minnesota.

Minnesota's High License law, under the provisions of which the license fee in cities of over 10,000 population is not less than \$1,000, in other cities not less than \$500, went into effect in 1888. The following statistics of the number of saloons and arrests for crime indicate the effect of High License on crime:

CITIES.	License Year Ended.	License Fee.	No. of Saloons	Police Year Ended.	Total Arrests.	Arrests for Drunkenness.
MINNEAPOLIS —						
1886.....	May 1	\$500	334	M'ch 31	3,903	1,839
1887.....	"	500	334	"	5,463	2,811
1888.....	July 1	1,000	230	"	6,048	2,647
1889.....	"	1,000	244	Dec. 31	6,132	2,558
ST. PAUL —						
1886.....	Dec. 31	\$100	700	Oct. 31	4,855	1,462
1887.....	"	100	400	Dec. 31	7,546	2,494
1888.....	"	1,000	386	"	6,862	2,368
1889.....	"	1,000	386	"	6,888	2,394
WINONA —						
1886.....	M'ch 31	\$100	93	Dec. 31	485	313
1887.....	"	100	107	"	340	183
1888.....	"	1,000	37	"	596	348
1889.....	"	1,000	39	"	637	241

It will be noticed that in St. Paul a change was made in the police year, making the last "year" of low license 14 months long, and making an apparent decrease in arrests the first year of High License, though there was an actual increase. In Minneapolis the total arrests increased the first year under \$1,000 license, but the arrests for drunkenness decreased, suggesting quite forcibly what is asserted by persons in position to know, that drunks were returned under some other name, or were piloted home by the accommodating police. But even such subterfuges could not cover up the increase of arrests, as shown by the fact that, for the last nine months of 1889, the total arrests were more than for any preceding year, and the number of drunks was also far larger in proportion.

The table gives Minneapolis for two years and three months under \$500 license, with an annual average of arrests (equating the number for the year in which the change was made according to the time under each system) of 4,834; and an annual average of 7,106 for the year and a half of \$1,000 license; St. Paul, in two years and two months of \$100 license, had an annual average of 5,684 arrests; for two years of \$1,000 license, it averaged 6,875 arrests. Winona in two years and three months of \$100 license had an annual average of 477 arrests, while in the two years and one month of \$1,000 license it had an annual average of 601 arrests. Comparing on the same basis the arrests for drunkenness for the same periods, Minneapolis under \$500 license had an annual average of 2,361; under \$1,000 license an annual average of 3,028; St. Paul under \$100 license, 1,825; under \$1,000 license, 2,368; Winona under Low License, 259; under High License, 291.

High License in Chicago.

The license fee for an ordinary saloon in Chicago has been \$500 since 1886. In 1884 and 1885, it was \$500 for an ordinary liquor saloon and \$150 for a beer saloon. In 1883, it was \$103; and in 1882, \$50. The following figures show the number of saloons each year since 1882 and the number of arrests for all crimes, and arrests for disorderly conduct—drunkenness not being charged as a crime by the Chicago police:

YEAR.	License Fee.	Number of Saloons.	Total Arrests.	Dis-orderly Conduct.	Expenses for Police Dept.
1882.....	\$ 52	3,759	.....	18,096	\$ 659,259.70
1883.....	103	3,747	.....	21,415	703,579.66
1884.....	{ 500 }	3,365	.....	23,080	779,721.45
	{ 150 }				
1885.....	{ 500 }	3,487	.....	25,407	1,079,334.74
	{ 150 }				
1886.....	500	3,700	44,261	26,067	1,192,769.56
1887.....	500	3,944	46,505	27,630	1,305,562.67
1888.....	500	3,984	50,432	31,164	1,450,437.40
1889.....	500	4,175	48,119	27,538	1,602,594.60
1890.....	500	5,628	62,230	37,063	2,200,126.96
1891.....	500	5,600	.....	.....	.....

Chicago's chief of police asked for an appropriation of \$3,091,573, to cover the expenses of 1891.

High License in Philadelphia.

The Brooks High License Law, making the fee \$500 in place of \$30, went into effect June 1, 1888. For the police years 1888 and 1889 (ended December 31), there was a decided decrease in the number of arrests, principally in arrests for drunkenness. The license and police statistics for 1886 to 1890 (license year ended May 30, and police year ended December 31), are as follows:

YEAR.	License Fee.	Number of Saloons.	Total Arrests.	Arrests for Drunkenness.	Expenses of Police Dept.
1886.....	\$ 50	6,140	53,409	28,122	\$1,525,915
1887.....	50	5,773	57,944	30,789	1,532,933
1888.....	500	1,343	46,899	22,638	1,787,906
1889.....	500	1,204	42,673	17,075	1,807,700
1890.....	500	1,172	49,148	20,937	1,801,835

The advocates of High License have used Philadelphia as an example proving the efficiency of High License as a temperance measure. A more plausible explanation of the decrease in arrests, and principally in arrests for drunkenness, is the fact that under the law, the arrest of drunken persons in a licensed saloon imperils the saloon-keeper's chances of getting his license renewed; whereas, under the old system, it was customary to call a policeman to remove drunken persons. No like decrease was noticeable in other cities of Pennsylvania under the same law. The arrests for drunkenness in Pittsburg, the next largest city of the State, increased from 1,914 in 1887 to 2,113 in 1888, and to 6,676 in 1890.

High License in Nebraska.

The Nebraska High License law was passed in 1881. Many temperance men, among them the late John B. Finch, favored it as promising wholesome restrictions upon the liquor traffic. The fee is \$1,000, and the restrictions imposed upon dealers are very stringent. After seven years' trial, Peter Iler, the leading distiller of Nebraska, wrote the following letter, designed for the guidance of the liquor-dealers of New York State, and which was published by the *Voice*, of Jan. 26, 1888:

WILLOW SPRINGS DISTILLING CO.

P. E. ILER, President.

J. H. ILER, Secretary.

OMAHA, NEB., Jan. 7, 1888.

To _____.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 31st ult., in regard to Prohibition, is at hand, and carefully noted. I would answer your questions as you put them, as follows:

1. High License has not hurt our business, but, on the contrary, has been a great benefit to it, as well as to the people generally.

2. I believe somewhat, as you say the Cincinnati *Volkblatt* says, that High License acts as a bar against Prohibition. It is especially so in this State, as the tax from the license goes towards supporting the schools, thereby relieving the citizens and farmers of just so much tax that they would otherwise have to pay, and is, therefore, especially beneficial to the poor and laboring classes. It also gives the business more of a tone and legal standing, and places it in hands of a better class of people.

3. I do not think that High License lessens the quantity of liquor used, but places it in fewer and better hands, with better regularity.

4. As to the trade repealing the High License law, if the question was left to it, I do not think, so far as my acquaintance is concerned, that it would do so. I have an extensive acquaintance through this State, and I believe if it were put to a vote of the liquor dealers and saloon men whether it should be High License, no license, or low license, that they would almost unanimously be for High License. Those objecting would be a class without responsibility or character, who never pay for anything if they can help it, and simply start in business for a few months, with the view of beating

every one they can, and, of course, naturally such a class would not want this law. I cannot see how any one who has anything at stake can help but favor High License and enforcing the law strictly.

5. I would be in favor of High License, rather than trust to the non-enforcement of the law under Prohibition. If you undertake to do your business without protection, you are blackmailed by one-horse attorneys, which in the end amounts to many times the cost of a license every year, even if the license be very high. We have had a great deal of business in the State of Iowa, both before it was Prohibition and since, and we can say positively that there is very little satisfaction in doing business in that State now. Ever so often the goods are seized, and it causes a great deal of delay and trouble to get them released; and then there is a fear of not getting money for the goods, and all the forms we have to go through make it very annoying business. It is like running a railroad underground. You don't know where you are going, or what is ahead. In all my experience of ten years in Ohio before the temperance movement and twenty years' experience here previous to High License and since, I believe that High License is one of the grandest laws for the liquor traffic, and for men interested as well as people at large, there is. The only objection we have here is that the regulations are not more strictly enforced than they are. I do not believe we would have any Prohibition people in our State if our High License law was more rigidly enforced.

I enclose you herewith a copy of our State Law regulating the liquor business, which will give you an idea of the kind of law we have. Anything I can do for you at any time, please command me.

Yours truly,

PETER E. ILER, (Pres.)

The Omaha *Bee*, in its issue of Dec. 10, 1888, had the following to say with regard to the political influence of the saloons under the High License system:

"No one can deny that the license system, as now existing in our city, has been a source of corruption and irregularity. It has had a demoralizing effect upon members of the city council and the city clerk. It has exacted political support from low dives, and bums; it has compelled orderly liquor dealers to support with money and influence the very worst element of the city, and has used the liquor men to do the dirty work at the primaries and elections."

Concentration of the Liquor Interests.

In line with the tendency to concentrate the retail liquor business into a few hands by High License, has been a similar tendency to concentrate the distilling and brewing business into the hands of a few great syndicates and trusts. The Whiskey Trust, known as the Distilling and Cattle-Feeding Company, of Peoria, Ill., practically controls the output of spirits.* In 1880, while the prohibitory Amendments were pending in so many States, there was a movement for a similar consolidation of the brewing interests, and a large number of

* The methods of this gigantic concern, representing some \$35,000,000 of capital, have been unscrupulous in the extreme. Not only does it defy the Federal law against trusts, but it is not particular by what means it gets its competitors out of the way. On Feb. 11, 1891, George J. Gibson, secretary of the Whiskey Trust, was arrested, charged with offering T. S. De War, a United States revenue inspector, \$25,000 to blow up the Schufeldt distillery, of Chicago, a competitor then of the Trust. De War, who, as a Government revenue inspector, had access to the Schufeldt distillery, was to place an infernal machine, loaded with dynamite, in such a position that it would have resulted in the total demolition of the buildings, and the instant death of 150 employes—and probably of the perpetrator himself. Gibson was arrested while waiting to hear the explosion. De War went to the point of committing the diabolical deed, in order to get complete evidence against Gibson. For some unaccountable reason, Gibson has never been prosecuted for this conspiracy up to the time of the present writing, nearly 13 months after the event. Gibson was requested by the Trust to resign, under the pressure of these charges, though the Trust very suspiciously passed resolutions of confidence in him when it made the request.

breweries were purchased by an English beer syndicate. This concern, according to the *Brewer's Journal*, had invested in breweries in this country in June, 1892, \$91,202,830; the number of breweries and malting houses so controlled was 80; and the sales of beer by these establishments for the year ended April 30, 1892, was 5,496,634 barrels, or 17 per cent. of the total sales in the whole country.*

Constitutional Prohibitory Amendments.

In 18 States, there have been submitted to the people the proposition of incorporating in the organic law Prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages, with the following results:

STATE.	Year.	VOTE ON THE AMENDMENT.		Vote at Nearest Import'nt Election.	Not Voting.
		For.	Against.		
Kansas.....	1880	91,874	84,037	201,236	25,325
Iowa.....	1882	155,436	125,677	292,048	10,935
Ohio.....	1883	823,189	240,975	721,310	157,146
Maine.....	1884	70,783	23,811	142,413	47,819
Rhode Island.....	1886	15,113	9,230	26,875	2,532
Michigan.....	1887	178,696	184,281	380,885	17,968
Texas.....	1887	129,270	220,627	357,513	7,616
Tennessee.....	1887	117,504	145,197	303,784	41,083
Oregon.....	1887	19,973	27,958	54,954	7,023
West Virginia.....	1888	41,668	76,555	159,540	41,317
New Hampshire.....	1889	25,786	30,976	90,922	34,160
Massachusetts.....	1889	85,242	131,062	344,517	128,213
Pennsylvania.....	1889	296,617	484,644	937,568	216,307
Rhode Island *.....	1889	9,956	28,315	43,111	4,840
South Dakota.....	1889	39,509	33,456	77,827	4,802
North Dakota.....	1889	18,552	17,393	38,096	2,153
Washington.....	1889	19,546	31,480	58,443	7,408
Connecticut.....	1889	22,379	49,974	153,978	81,625
Nebraska.....	1890	82,296	111,728	214,090	20,066
Total.....		1,743,329	2,057,365	4,461,112	858,398

* This was the submission of the question of repealing Prohibition.

In summing up the strength of Prohibition sentiment in the States named, it should be remembered that the tactics adopted by the liquor men (see next few paragraphs) undoubtedly confused many, and made them refrain from voting, which accounts mainly for the small vote, as compared with the preceding election; and made others, who really believed in Prohibition, vote against it.

Methods of the Amendment Campaigns.

In the earlier campaigns for State constitutional prohibitory amendments, there was little organized opposition, and the vote for Prohibition in every such contest prior to 1887 was considerably larger than the vote against. In 1886, the National Protective Association

* Since the tables on pages 10 and 11 were stereotyped, the sales of fermented liquors for the year 1892 have been published by the *Brewer's Journal*. They were, for the whole country, 51,474,519 barrels.

came into existence. This was an organization closely allied with the Whiskey Trust*, having for its President J. M. Atherton, the wealthy distiller of Louisville, Ky., and for its Secretary, Cyrus C. Turner, and having for its object the protection of the liquor trade, the dissemination of pro-liquor literature, and opposition generally to Prohibition agitation. The machinery of this Association enabled the liquor interests of the whole country to concentrate on any State where a prohibitory amendment was submitted or on any city of importance where local Prohibition was being agitated. Since that time, only two of the fourteen States in which prohibitory amendments have been submitted have adopted Prohibition, and fierce assaults have been made upon the States that had previously adopted Prohibition.

Character of the Anti-Prohibition Literature.

A large variety of documents presenting arguments against Prohibition were published by the National Protective Association, which also operated under the name of the National Printing Association, American Printing Company, etc., and circulated in the Amendment Campaigns of 1887, 1888, 1889, and 1890. Most of these were published anonymously, giving no clue to their real source. Among these documents were the *Farm Herald* and the *Rural Age*, gotten up in the form of cheap agricultural publications, containing various articles for farmers, but principally articles adroitly written against Prohibition. Others were dissertations on Bible Wines, editorials from religious and other papers that were opposed to the prohibitory amendment methods, etc. These documents were widely circulated at the expense of the liquor dealers, and gave the impression of a strong moral and religious sentiment against Prohibition.

Liquor Men's Letters Regarding Their Methods.

The full exposure of the foregoing methods was made during the year 1890, while the Nebraska Amendment campaign was in progress. The *Voice* came into possession of a number of confidential letters, written by prominent liquor men in States that had gone through Amendment campaigns, advising Nebraska liquor dealers how to proceed. The most important one was from Harry P. Crowell, the manager of the liquor campaign in Pennsylvania. It, as well as others, were written in reply to the following:

JOHNSON'S PALE ALE.

LINCOLN, NEB., March 5, 1890.

DEAR SIR: There is a Prohibition Amendment pending in this State and I would like to have your advice, as a member of the trade. You have had experience in fighting Prohibition in your State, and you know what the best plans are.

Please tell us frankly what you think we should lay the most stress on in Nebraska, for accomplishing the best results for the liquor trade. It is my opinion that if the Nebraska dealers will talk up High License and show its advantages as a revenue measure, and a plan for regulating the traffic, etc., they will get the support of the best people, and even some preachers. What do you think of this?

* See letter of Harry P. Crowell on next page. The headquarters of the National Protective Association have been moved to Peoria, Ill., the headquarters also of the Whiskey Trust.

What effectiveness is there in using anti-Prohibition documents? What class of documents are best? Do you know of any documents that will have weight against Prohibition among the religious people?

How should campaign funds be distributed for the best results? Is it worth while to hire speakers or to engage in debates with the Prohibitionists? I think myself that the trade will accomplish more by spending the bulk of the funds among the newspapers, and for quiet work with men of influence, especially politicians. Give me your best plan for working through political machinery, and especially how to silence the pulpit and the press.

Hoping for an early reply, believe me, Yours truly,

WM. E. JOHNSON.

Mr. Crowell replied to the above as follows:

CROWELL & GLASS COLD STORAGE CO.,
Nos. 50, 52, and 54 N. Delaware Ave.,
Nos. 51, 53, and 55 N. Water St.,

PHILADELPHIA, 8-8, 1890.

WM. E. JOHNSON, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 3d, also several similar ones to our Brewers sent to me by them for answer, received. I was the Secretary and Manager of the Anti-Prohib. fight last year, and when the fight was over, and our victory so great, I *destroyed* all our documents, and resigned from the Association, and am devoting all my time to the above business. Now to answer yours.

I always was a High License man, and think it the only thing to prevent Prohibition. My idea from experience is: Favor the passage of a High License bill, with as many restrictions as possible, to make the vendor live up to the law, or lose his license; also, a large penalty and imprisonment for violation, and never be allowed a license in the State again. That will get you, as it did us, the support of the best people, preachers and politicians.

To use anti-Prohibition documents is good, but should be used with great judgment. The best documents for your work are published by the National Protective Assn., Louisville, Ky. It is the Whiskey Pool Trust arrangement and work, who will send you a sample copy of all their work, if you apply for it. Some are for religious people, some for farmers, etc.

The best results, or way to distribute campaign funds, is to arrange with the local leaders to look after their district and workers. Some localities speakers are good, but we used very few, and did very little of it. If you get the politicians on both sides they influence the papers, and they and the papers can win any fight, and it is the cheapest and best way. The politicians have all the window books, and, in fact, all the machinery and data required, while the other side have not, and can only do great work in places where only a few people reside.

Make your fight on the grounds of High License, and revenue. Argue that Prohibition does not prohibit. If you are going to have a fight, if you was to come here I would give you, I think, in three hours more than I could write in a week, and tell you and show you some of our documents, form of collecting funds, and spending, and winning the fight. Yours truly
[Confidential.] HARRY P. CROWELL.

In accordance with the suggestion in the last paragraph of the foregoing letter, the *Voice* detailed Col. R. S. Cheves to go to Philadelphia and interview Mr. Crowell, and that paper, in its issue of April 8, 1890, published the following:

Interview of Mr. Crowell and Colonel Cheves:

"On reaching Philadelphia last Wednesday I went directly to Mr. Crowell's place of business, 51 and 53 North Water Street. I found him to be an exceedingly pleasant and agreeable gentleman. He is a man of fine physique and handsome features, with an honest and benevolent face; talks fast and earnestly, and with every expression shows that he believes what he says. He is about 50 years old and doing a prosperous business. I introduced myself by giving him my full name and New York address, saying that I had come over as a friend of W. E. Johnson of Nebraska, to get from him such information as would aid us in making a successful fight in that State.

"In response to a question I told Mr. Crowell that I had with me his letter to Johnson and as I had an offer to go to Nebraska to do some work in the campaign, I was very anxious that he should give me an inside history of the Pennsylvania Amendment contest, for I felt sure I could use it to great advantage.

"Being a very courteous and accommodating gentleman, Mr. Crowell said: 'My experience will be of great benefit to you, but I am very busy now, and as it will take me several hours to give you all the details, suppose you come down to my house this evening and in a quiet way we will go over the whole thing.'

Promptly at eight o'clock that evening I presented myself at 1731 North Eighth Street, Mr. Crowell's elegant home, and was received by that gentleman. The following conversation ensued:

"How did we begin the work? Well, I'll tell you," said Mr. Crowell. "In the first place we knew for the last three years that this fight was coming on, consequently we prepared for it."

"The first meeting of the liquor men was called to convene in Harrisburg, which was a failure. The second meeting was held in Philadelphia, and was a success, for at that meeting a State Executive Committee was selected and I was made Secretary with power to act and arrange for the fight. At that meeting plans were also adopted by which money could be raised. In the first place we assessed the sales of all beer per annum at ten cents per barrel. We levied an assessment of \$1,000 on all the large hotels like the Continental, and they paid it like little men, and from \$25 to \$50 on all the smaller retail shops. Besides, each brewer was required to solicit money from all kindred interests—that is, every man in trade with whom they had dealings—those engaged in making barrels, those from whom we bought our horses, and wagons, and grain, and machinery, etc., were solicited to contribute to a campaign fund, and if such persons failed after a reasonable time to do so, a notice was forwarded intimating that a prompt compliance would save trouble and a possible boycott, thus forcing hundreds to help us who did it reluctantly. By this plan we raised over \$200,000 which was expended by the State Committee. Besides, local committees in every community raised and expended large sums during the campaign and on election day. Appeals for money were made to the trade throughout the country, and large sums were contributed by the Brewers' Association and the National Protective Association."

"How did you dispose of this immense amount of money?"

"Besides the current expenses, we paid it out to the newspapers, politicians, and some for literature, and some for public speakers."

"How did you manage to enlist the politicians on your side? Did you offer them money?"

"Yes; we would go to the leaders, both Republicans and Democrats, and say this is not a party fight and you cannot afford to be against us, if you do we will remember you at the next general election, but if you will help us we will pay you liberally for your support."

"Such State leaders,* as 'Bill' Leeds, Charlie Porter, who is chairman of the city Republican Committee, Cooper, and Dave Martin, and others, and a lot of Democratic leaders we paid \$500 apiece, and \$200 apiece to local leaders, and \$5 apiece to men who worked and manned the polls on the day of elections."

"Did I pay Quay † any money? Yes; for three years he bled us, and our contributions to him came very near beating us at the polls. It was reported that we contributed money to defeat Cleveland, and the Democrats got hold of it and a plan was on foot to have all the Democratic vote cast for the Amendment as a punishment to the Republican brewers of the State, and it would have succeeded if I had not found it out in time and 'fixed' the boys, but it cost us a big pile of money to do so. We had all the workers on our side, and the machines of both old parties were with us. We paid the County Commissioners of this county to let us have the poll-list exclusively for our use with the understanding that we were not to return the list until after the election. So the Prohibitionists, with no window books, no money, no organization, had no show whatever against us."

"Mr. Crowell, how did you manage to get the newspapers pretty much all on your side?"

* David Martin, here referred to, is the man whom President Harrison appointed to the collectorship of the Internal Revenue District, Philadelphia; "Bill" Leeds was also appointed by the President as United States Marshal; Mr. Crowell himself has been elected on the Republican ticket as a Councilman of the City of Philadelphia; all these since this exposure.

† After Mr. Crowell's interview with Colonel Cheves, he became solicitous about the information he had imparted, and wrote to Colonel Cheves, April 1, 1890: "The conversation we had was a matter, to a great extent, of the strictest confidence, and a part of it should be kept secret, and not used as I gave it to you. That was about our U. S. Senator. Should you make use of that in connection with my name it would do me a great injury, and if it got to his ears would be the means of doing your cause a great deal of harm; consequently, my advice to you is to be very careful, and not let the matter get any publicity."

"Why, we bought them by paying down so much cash. I visited the editors in person or had some good man to do so, and arranged to pay each paper for its support a certain amount of money. Throughout the State we paid weekly papers from \$50 to \$500 to publish such matter as we might furnish, either news or editorial, but the city daily papers we had to pay from \$1,000 to \$4,000 which latter amount was paid to the *Times* of this city. Other papers we could not buy straight out, consequently we had to pay from 30 to 60 cents per line for all matter published for us according to the circulation and ability of the paper. We paid the *Ledger* 40 cents per line, and the *Record* we paid 60 cents per line, though it did some good work for us for nothing. It was understood with most all of the papers that we would furnish the matter, and so we employed a man to write for us and prepare articles for publication which would be furnished to the papers to be printed as news or editorial matter, as we might direct. The most effective matter we could get up in the influencing of votes was, that Prohibition did not prohibit, and the revenue, taxation, and how Prohibition would hurt the farmers. We would have these articles printed in different papers and then buy thousands of copies of the paper and send them to the farmers. If you work the farmers on the tax question you can catch them every time."

"How did I get the names of farmers? Why I got the poll-book in each town and hired some man who was well posted to select the names of every farmer and send them to me, and it was here we got in our best work; for with the politicians, the papers and the farmers, you can always win. C. C. Turner, Secretary of the liquor dealers' publishing house at Louisville, will mail you a list of the farmers in Nebraska. He is a bright fellow, and can do you much good in some ways; but don't let him try to manage the newspapers for you."

"How did you manage, Mr. Crowell, to get so many ministers on your side?"

"Oh, that is the easiest thing out. No, I did not go to the preachers as I did to the politicians, but I always found out a good man in the Church who could work the preacher with but little trouble, for half of the preachers are cowards. Then I hired, for so much a name, some old broken down newspaper man or politician to go around with a petition and get the names of ministers and lawyers, which we published with fine effect. We talked High License all the time. Never try to defend the saloon; if so, you lose the influence of church members and ministers; but talk about the revenue, cider, taxation, and especially Prohibition don't prohibit, and clamor for High License. I had thousands of badges printed with High License and gave them out to poll-workers on election day and it had fine effect."

"Yes, we understood and agreed to the passage of the High License law before the Amendment was submitted, so that we could use it as a means to defeat Prohibition. And it was that and that alone that saved us. With all our money and political backing we could not have defeated the Amendment on any other plan than High License."

"Mr. Crowell, has High License which has reduced the number of saloons, reduced to any extent the consumption of liquor?"

"No sir; on the contrary, the consumption of liquor has increased. The sale of beer in the city has increased 20 per cent. the last year, and gradually increased every year since the adoption of the Brooks law. While the number of licensed saloons have been reduced under High License, unlawful drinking places have increased. At first the officers made an effort to enforce the law, but now it is a farce and no effort on the part of the authorities to suppress illegal sales is being made. Yet I honestly believe High License is the only practical way in dealing with the traffic. I am sure it will help the business, make it more respectable by putting it in the hands of a better class of men."

"Yes, we had a few speakers, but as a rule they are no good. I think it is throwing money and time away on them, for all who go out to hear our speakers are generally on our side to start with. Yes, we had Kate Field, and paid her \$250 and expenses per day, but she is no good—money wasted. We also had Rev. Sikes and Mr. Tomlinson of Topeka, but they are not worth fooling with. Let the speakers go. Get up good literature of your own, and send it especially to the farmers. Make a plea for High License and the battle is yours—that is, if you have the papers and politicians with you, and you can get them if you have the money."

"No, you need not go to Quay. He tries to be on both sides. It was reported during our campaign that he would vote for the Amendment. Our committee investigated the report. Quay denied it and satisfied us that it was false. But all of Quay's strongest personal friends and supporters were with us beyond doubt, and, it was understood, with his approval. It was for that influence we contributed so liberally to his support for three years."

"I never want to go through such another fight. It almost killed me, besides my business suffered greatly, for I was nearly three years with the burden of the fight on my shoulders, and for it all I was paid only \$5,000, and some of the trade kicked about that."

"When the campaign closed we were in debt \$50,000, on account of debts contracted with the newspapers, but the committee made an appeal, and raised the amount, and settled all claims."

"Were any temperance papers circulated during your campaign?"

"Yes, several; but the most powerful and influential one was the *Voice*, of New York. It is a corker, and gave us more trouble than all the rest put together. I tell you, that *Voice* is a holy terror and a hell rattler. I take it, and get more information from it on this question than from all other sources put together, for what that paper does not get hold of is not worth knowing. If it could have covered the whole State it would have beaten us."

Other Liquor Men Shed Additional Light.

The full text of the principal letters written by liquor dealers in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Texas, and other States, for the instruction of liquor dealers in Nebraska, is printed in the *Voice* of March 27, April 3, April 17, and May 3, 1890. A few extracts will serve to show their drift.

Robert Ogden, of Dallas, Texas, wrote:

"Don't make it a whiskey fight, or a fight of whiskey against religion. Keep the saloon element in the background as much as possible. They can do quiet work, and on election day they can turn out and do the voting. Make it a war against sumptuary, unjust, and despotic laws. . . . I am a High License man. I believe it makes a better class of saloons, does away with many deadfalls, and elevates the business. It is also better for the wholesale dealer, as it makes his risks safer. I, however, do not advise to preach High License. Let others do that. . . . Try to get some one to work on a good minister; get him to make a sermon—say you term it, 'Temperance, but not Prohibition?' Have it published in the paper and puff him up, and others will follow in line, just for the notoriety and free advertising they get. . . . Try to get a good religious journal on your side. Money will do it, especially as the fight is not a whiskey one."

Thomas Grimes, a wholesale liquor dealer of Providence, R. I., wrote:

"The way we handled our campaign here was: We got the chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, and the chairmen of the city committees interested in our behalf, also Gen. C. R. Brayton, the head-pin Republican worker in the State, who is well up in all things pertaining to politics; he took care of the Republican State and city committees, which we paid him \$5,000 for his services. In addition, it cost us through the newspapers, pamphlets, and circulars, \$31,000 to do away with Prohibition in this State. I should recommend you to get the newspapers interested in your behalf; it is the strongest point you can use. Anti-Prohibition documents are very essential, which should be mailed to every voter in the State; but the bulk of the money should be spent in the newspapers, and with the political machinery. I would not recommend any debates with Prohibitionists; I would avoid it, for, if a word should be let slip, they would tear you all to pieces."

Jeremiah Rohrer, a wholesale liquor dealer of Lancaster, Pa., wrote:

"We paid politicians at every poll to work quietly for our cause. We took Republicans and Democrats, both sides of politics, and gave them, according to influence, from \$10 to \$50 each. Everything was conducted quietly."

J. S. Bowler, of Bowler Brothers, brewers, Worcester, Mass., wrote:

"The public press is the great lever to send your wheel rolling in the right direction. Subsidize the press all you can, and get them to talk up High License. Also get them to agitate the question that farmers will not be allowed to make cider or light wine. . . . We should advise you not to hold any public meeting, as those very good Prohibitionists won't attend them, and you will have the hall filled with a gang of loafers, which will make you look like States prison birds."

F. W. Brede, Secretary of the Michigan Brewers' and Malsters' Association, Detroit, Mich., wrote :

"The effect of using Anti-Prohibition documents is good. . . . I enclose you herewith some papers that we used in our campaign, and would further say that we did not carry on a road-wagon campaign, but sent out agents all over the State to silently organize our forces, and made them understand the situation, also furnished all necessary money—quite a large amount—to defray expenses. We established a Literary Bureau, which furnished copies for about 40 or 50 country papers, with reading matter against Prohibition. It was not known, though, that we issued such patent papers, but, nevertheless, money makes the mare go."

George Moerlein, of the Christian Moerlein Brewing Company, Cincinnati, Ohio, wrote :

"Our campaign against Prohibition was conducted in a very quiet manner, and a greater part of the funds was paid to the newspapers for strong and convincing articles against Prohibition."

Henry Goodwin, of H. Goodwin & Co., wholesale dealers in wines and liquors in Aberdeen, S. Dak., wrote as follows about the campaign in that State, in which the liquor dealers were not successful in defeating Prohibition :

"The best way to reach the people in agricultural States is with literature through the mail. The *Farm Herald*, published at Louisville, Ky., gave us valuable assistance; also the *Dakota Catholic*, published at Sioux Falls. The latter, being a church organ and disinterested, has great weight and made thousands of votes for us. . . . To advocate High License is well. The people like the idea of having the liquor men pay their taxes. . . . Buying up newspapers is one of the best ways to reach the popular mind. We tried it with good results. Also getting prominent politicians to help is good. . . . Gentlemen, I pity you! You have a big job on hand, but if you organize and pull together strongly and wisely, you will succeed. First of all, organize a State Liquor Dealers' Association. Divide the State into districts and let certain parties attend to them. Have good workers at the polls in every county. Every county should have an organization, too, working under the State organization; also a paid secretary who will attend to matters promptly. For instance, three years ago the question of Local Option was voted on in Dakota, License was defeated in this county by 500 majority. Two years ago it was voted on again, and with organization we carried license by 1,000 majority. We had workers at every polling-place in the county, and paid them well. . . . A few years ago, I had a large and lucrative business in Dakota. Could have sold my realty for \$10,000. To-day it is worth, perhaps, \$2,000, if salable at all. Business gone, and in a few weeks shall have to go to another State to hunt a location and begin business anew."

Campaign Methods in Nebraska.

The Amendment campaign in Nebraska was more fiercely contested than any similar campaign in other States had been. The work against the Amendment was carried on by an organization which called itself the "Business Men's and Bankers' Association," in which the liquor men, according to the advice of Robert Ogden, of Dallas, Texas, and others (see opposite page), were "kept in the back-ground." One E. P. Roggen, a former saloon-keeper, was at the head of the concern. Dr. George L. Miller, a prominent politician, and manager of

* See page 72.

† In reply to an advertisement in the Lincoln, Neb., *Daily Call*, in April, 1890, for "a man competent to manage a retail liquor establishment," 17 replies were received from dealers in Dakota who had to get out of the State on account of Prohibition. These replies were published in the *Vote* of May 15, 1890.

the New York Life Insurance Co. in Omaha, was the principal member of the Finance Committee. The latter wrote, under date of Sept. 20, 1890, to a supposed brewer and would-be contributor to the Anti-Prohibition campaign fund, at Albany, N. Y.:

"Within the last past ten days the Omaha brewers have secured a conditional subscription of \$25,000 from the brewers in Omaha, and outside of the State. I understand the condition of the subscription to have been that the Whiskey Trust shall subscribe an equal amount. . . . Mr. P. E. Her, our chief distiller, telegraphs Mr. Davis, of our First National Bank to-day, that the Peoria gentlemen* have made an appropriation to our cause but we know nothing about the amount."

Dr. Miller intimated in his letter that the magnates of the Whiskey Trust had treated his Association's requests for aid with supercilious indifference and outright contempt. His correspondent wrote to the President of the Whiskey Trust to inquire about the truth of that statement, and received from that gentleman (J. B. Greenhut), under date of Sept. 27, 1890, the following reply, which shows the falsity of the pretence that the "business men and bankers" of Nebraska carried on the fight without the assistance of the liquor men:

"Any report you have received from Nebraska in regard to our refusing to contribute anything to their campaign is a base falsehood, as this company has not only made a contribution, but has contributed more than its share toward that campaign. I can see no reason why such a report should be made unless it is for the purpose of trying to influence the liquor dealers in different sections of the country to contribute personally. We claim that we have done more toward carrying on the legitimate expenses of that campaign than any other institution in the country, and it is very unsatisfactory to hear such a report circulated as you say you have received. We may not have contributed as much as some people out there think we should have, but if we should pay out such enormous sums as are sometimes demanded from us, we might as well go to the poor-house at once as attempt to meet such demand."

Dr. Miller, in the letter before referred to, stated the plan of campaign that had been determined upon, as follows:

"Our plan employs two managing politicians in each Congressional District . . . whose duty it is to direct the local contests on non-partisan lines; these men, carefully chosen, aid the Executive Committee in choosing men in the 1,800 voting precincts of the State whose duty it will be to work at the polls to the last hour on election day for our cause—one man from the Republican Party—and one from the Democratic Party. . . . I am not a member of the Executive Committee, but I am informed that I will be requested to accept a place in it in a day or two, as a means of removing Democratic distrust to Chairman Rosewater, and Mr. Roggen, for which, however, there is no real ground."

The Nebraska Amendment Election.

The plan of campaign as stated by Dr. Miller in the last paragraph was carried out, and the machinery of both the Democratic and the Republican Parties was worked at the polls in opposition to the Prohibitory Amendment. Even the Federal machinery of the Census Bureau and Postoffice Department† was turned to the assistance of the liquor men. The opposition, however, broke out into open violence and intimidation on election day.

* The Whiskey Trust.

† The *Voice* of Oct. 16 and 23, 1890, contained an exposé of the methods by which Omaha's census was extensively padded, one object being to prevent detection in the registration of illegal voters. These issues of the *Voice* were arbitrarily held by the Omaha postmaster until after the election, in the face of a distinct order from the Postmaster-General to distribute them.

The following are among the cases of violence in Omaha, reported by the *Voice*, and confirmed by an official investigation by the Nebraska legislature in the Boyd-Powers election contest:

Mr. G. W. Clark, an old gray-haired man, went to the polls to distribute Prohibition Amendment tickets of all parties. Henry Vass, an Omaha brewer, assaulted him, grabbed the tickets and tore them in pieces. A committee of the saloon men then notified the old man Clark if he did not leave the polls at once he would have to suffer the consequences, which would be very bitter. He was hooted and driven from the polls. In the 3d district of 5th Ward an old gentleman, 60 years of age, was assaulted by a drunken painter, named Lambert, who took off his coat and brutally beat him. The old gentleman, whose offense was peaceably distributing Prohibition tickets, attempted to defend himself with his cane and was run in by the police, who let Lambert go, as he was doing good work at the polls. At the same time three ladies from the W. C. T. U. headquarters were assaulted, beaten, and insulted with oaths and obscene language. They fled to headquarters for their lives.

Doctor L. M. Kauffman was pounded by the mob at the 16th and Chicago Street voting place, his tickets taken from him and he was driven from the polls.

Rev. F. P. Swanson, pastor of the Swedish Methodist church, was beaten, rotten-egged, and dragged from the polls. R. W. Richardson while at work in the 2d Precinct of the 4th Ward, was assaulted, his tickets torn from his hand and destroyed, and was threatened with violence if he did not leave. The police looked on but would not interfere.

Rev. Q. N. Shinn, one of the most respected preachers of the city, was assaulted in the 3d Ward and beaten. They knocked his hat off and threatened to kill him. He was kicked out of the crowd and fled for his life. A mob of 200 men chased him several blocks. Charles A. Coe, Treasurer of the "Bankers' and Business Men's Association," led the mob. He told the preacher, with a volley of oaths, that he had no business there and threatened to "cut his guts out and throw him in the gutter," if he did not leave. Shinn appealed to the police who were present for protection, but they ordered him to leave if he didn't want to get hurt, saying that "preachers had no business there any way."

Mr. W. B. Frough was knocked down twice, his head cut open and one of his eyes badly bruised, in the 1st District of the 2d Ward. A gentleman who accompanied him was kicked and rotten-egged. Both were compelled to fly for their lives, followed by a howling mob of several hundred.

That these were not isolated cases, merely, is shown by the fact that there was violence in every ward, and in 33 of the 41 election precincts, as the official investigation proved.

There was also an organized boycott attempted of all businessmen who did not contribute to oppose Prohibition. Naturalization papers were taken out for 3,000 foreigners, by the liquor organizations.

The Purchase of Newspaper Influence.

Mr. Crowell's statement in regard to the purchase by the liquor dealers of the support of influential newspapers, though emphatically denied by the proprietors of several of the papers, are confirmed by a suit at law instituted in Philadelphia by Moore & Sinnott (wholesale liquor dealers), to recover \$22,800 from Harry P. Crowell and the Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association. The Philadelphia *Press* for April 5, 1890, in giving information about the case, made the following luminous explanations:

"It appears that in the organized effort to defeat Prohibition, the Liquor Dealers' League and the State Brewers' Association united. Just before the election the funds ran out and the Joint Committee of the two liquor organizations, which was appointed to arrange for such a contingency, called on Moore & Sinnott, and stated that there was \$38,000 lacking to properly carry on the campaign. Of this amount \$20,000 was owing to

the newspapers for advertising; \$18,000 to window-book men, engaged to work the polls; and \$5,000 cash retainer to Lewis C. Cassidy on account of the \$20,000 promised him for his work in the campaign.

"Moore & Sinnott advanced the \$38,000 on the understanding that the Brewers' Association was to pay back 60 per cent. of the loan, and the Liquor Dealers 40 per cent. in two weeks. The Liquor Dealers paid back their 40 per cent. according to their contract, but the Brewers' Association, instigated, it is said, by Harry P. Crowell, have refused to return to Moore & Sinnott one cent of their share of the loan advanced to protect their business."

The statement filed by Moore & Sinnott in Common Pleas Court No. 4, Philadelphia, May 3, 1890, gives the sums paid at different dates to newspapers as follows:

May 20— <i>Delaware County Citizen</i>	\$500.00
May 25— <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	1,504.52
June 7— <i>Catholic Standard</i>	175.00
June 15— <i>Catholic Standard</i>	150.00
June 15— <i>Commercial List</i>	187.00
June 17— <i>Philadelphia Record</i>	300.00
June 17— <i>Evening Bulletin</i>	500.00
June 17— <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	776.00
June 17— <i>Evening Star</i>	225.00
June 20— <i>Philadelphia Ledger</i> (various bills).....	145.30
June 24— <i>Evening Bulletin</i>	250.00
June 27— <i>North American</i>	2,942.20
June 27— <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	208.10
June 27— <i>Philadelphia Times</i>	3,516.30
July 2— <i>Evening Telegraph</i>	400.00
July 2— <i>Evening Bulletin</i>	500.00
July 8— <i>Philadelphia Record</i>	2,182.00
July 15—Detective Services.....	300.00
July 15—Extra work for city papers.....	575.00
July 15— <i>Schuylkill Navy</i>	280.00
Total.....	\$19,216.67

The above does not purport to be *all* that was paid to the papers in question, and does not include at all the amounts paid to other papers in the State. The matter paid for by the liquor dealers was not inserted as *advertising*, but as *reading matter*, with no indication that it was anything but the spontaneous opinions of the papers in question.

Nebraska Papers that Offered to Sell their Influence.

In May, 1890, while the Constitutional Amendment was pending, a proposition was mailed from Louisville, Ky., to 170 newspapers of Nebraska, signed "Charles Turner"—a name very similar to that of the Secretary of the National Protective Association, C. C. Turner—asking the rates for inserting as reading matter, without any advertising remarks, certain statements that could easily have been ascertained to be false and misleading, with regard to Prohibition. Fifty-six of the papers replied, offering to insert the matter, and more of a similar character, at so much a line, or so much an inch, giving in many cases terms for insertion among regular editorials. A list of the papers offering to sell their influence was published in the *Voice* of June 12, 1890.

Republican Party's Attitude Towards Prohibition.

The utterance of the Republican national platform of 1892 (see pp. 108-4), in regard to the liquor question, is:

"(18) We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and suppress the evils of intemperance and promote morality."

This does not say that the party *favours* or *commends* any definite policy. The same word "sympathize" is used in the reference to the struggle for home rule and Ireland, a subject entirely foreign to the powers of the United States Government, and with which the Republican Party would not attempt to interfere. On the silver question the party "demands"; on the question of a free ballot, it also "demands"; it "favours" extension of foreign commerce; it "reaffirms our approval" of the Monroe doctrine; it "approves" rural postal delivery; it "favours" the admission of the remaining Territories, etc. It even tones down the utterance of 1888, which was that the Republican Party *cordially* sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality," and only directs its plain "sympathy" to the suppressing of the "evils of intemperance."

Liquor Men's Comments on "Sympathy" Plank.

Mida's Criterion of Chicago, the leading liquor paper of the Central and Western States, in its issue of June 16, 1892, said:

"The platform of the great Republican Party on intemperance is one that should commend itself to every reasonable citizen, and it sums up the exact position that the *Criterion* has for years been advocating."

The *New York Wine and Spirit Gazette*, in its issue of June 28, 1892, said of the plank:

"The temperance plank in the Republican platform adopted at Minneapolis reads as follows: 'We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.' So do we, and so do all decent, honest liquor dealers who have a proper appreciation of the true meaning of their business. The traffic in intoxicating liquors can be justified only in so far as it is carried on, not with a view of making drunkards, but of supplying a craving in the human appetite which if gratified with moderation contributes to the well being of many without in any way interfering with the personal rights and comforts of others. The temperance plank in the Republican platform might have been adopted with perfect propriety by any Liquor Dealers' Association.* It meets the approval

* The National Protective Association of Liquor Dealers in convention at Chicago, Oct. 19, 1888, declared:

"*Resolved*, That we recognize to the fullest extent the duties and responsibilities resting upon us as citizens, and pledge ourselves to the faithful performance of every duty.

"*Resolved*, That we most earnestly favor temperance and most strongly condemn intemperance, and appeal to every member of the trade to make proof of this declaration by his daily life and daily conduct of his business.

"*Resolved*, That it is our duty, as it is of all good citizens, to obey the laws of our country, and we condemn every violation of law, regardless to the damage inflicted in its observance upon any individual or upon our general business interests.

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of both public and private morality and good order and popular education, and that we feel the duty resting on us as individuals and as a trade to work with the great body of our people in the advancement of these interests.

"We recognize and admit the evils that result from the abuse of all kinds of liquors, and condemn in the strongest terms every place, by whatever name known, that encourages or permits this abuse. We likewise condemn the indiscriminate issue of licenses and the establishment or toleration

of the trade. If our temperance reformers doubt the accuracy of our statement, let them canvass the liquor dealers. They will learn that 99 out of every 100 of them are heartily in favor of every wise and legitimate effort to lessen the evils of intemperance and promote morality."

Sheridan Shook, the New York brewer and politician, a delegate to the Republican National Convention, said to a *Voice* correspondent (June 16 issue):

"That plank is all right. It won't hurt any one. It means nothing, a straddle, as it were. It's as inoffensive as a baby."

Debauchery at the Minneapolis Convention.

The Republican National Convention of 1892, which met in Minneapolis, Minn., and nominated Harrison and Reid, was a most disgraceful affair.* The Sunday preceding the opening of the convention was given up to drunkenness and revelry, every one of the 248 High License saloons of the city openly violating the law. The West Hotel, the headquarters of the Republican National Committee, had four immense bars, aggregating over 200 feet in length, over which 30 bartenders were kept busy passing drinks, and eight large cash registers were required to record the receipts, which averaged about \$4,300 a day. A number of drunken fights among delegates occurred in this bar-room. All the saloons were decorated with lithographs of the presidential aspirants. The houses of prostitution imported hundreds of girls from other cities for the occasion, and did business in a most shameless and obnoxious manner.

Among the delegates present who represented the liquor sentiment were: Sheridan Shook, brewer, of New York; John Reisenweber, saloon-keeper, New York; David Martin, who was hired by the liquor dealers of Pennsylvania (see page 66) to work against the prohibitory amendment; E. Rosewater, proprietor of the Omaha *Bea*, the chief organ of the liquor dealers in the Nebraska Amendment election; Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, a champion of the interests of the Pabst Brewing Company of Milwaukee; George Hubbard of Plover, Wis., a saloon keeper, acted as assistant sergeant-at-arms of the convention; Julius A. Stage, a wholesale liquor dealer of Louisville, Ky., was an alternate delegate, as was also M. J. Doyle of Savannah, Ga., another liquor dealer. M. H. De Young, who was elected later Vice-Chairman of the Republican National Committee, is hand-in-glove with the California liquor interests, and owed his election as a delegate to the convention to the activity of several San Francisco saloon-keepers in his behalf. These are by no means all the liquor men in the convention.

of places open to disreputable characters who expose their depravity under the guise of intoxication. Our interests, as well as our duty as citizens, demand that we enter a solemn protest against all such places and pledge ourselves as a trade to co-operate with the officers of the law and with all good citizens to prevent the issue of licenses to all disreputable places."

* Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley, editor of the New York *Christian Advocate*, stated before the Methodist Preachers' meeting of New York City, June 21, that the reports of the debauchery in Minneapolis which reached him were so sickening that he telegraphed to a gentleman in Minneapolis, who always keeps a level head, asking whether they were not exaggerated, and received the emphatic reply that "to exaggerate would be impossible."

Republican Candidates on the Liquor Question.

The *Indianapolis Journal*, which stood related to President Harrison's canvass in 1888 as a *quasi* personal organ, the editor of which, John C. New, was appointed Consul-General to England, in reward for his services, and in 1892 conducted President Harrison's candidacy for the renomination at Minneapolis, said in its issue of June 18, 1888:

"A story has been started in Chicago to the effect that General Harrison was in favor of Prohibition. This is a lie. General Harrison is a Republican. On temperance question, as on all others, he stands with the Republican Party. Though a practical temperance man, General Harrison is not a Prohibitionist. In a speech delivered in Danville, Ind., November, 1887, he said: 'We said in our State platform that we were in favor of clothing local communities with power to act upon this question. There I stand for one to-day. I do not believe in State Prohibition as the best method of dealing with this question.' Nothing could be more explicit than that. . . . General Harrison is too good a Republican to be a Prohibitionist."

Nothing in the President's record since that time has compelled a revision of that statement. None of his messages to Congress have recommended any action by this Government on the liquor question.

Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune* and Republican candidate for Vice-president, when the Amendment fights of 1887 were on, lent his influence to the liquor men, and in an editorial in his paper, Oct. 17, 1887, entitled "Force No Remedy," violently attacked the Prohibition principle and policy, pronouncing it "fanaticism as tyrannical as the worst Old World despotism." In the *Tribune* of March 27, 1887, eight days before the Amendment election, was published an editorial on "High License in Michigan," which contained the following:

"Whenever the sober and disinterested public, and those who have the heaviest interests at stake, are called upon for an expression of their opinions, they are found . . . pronounced against Prohibition, alias Free Rum, and heartily in favor of High License, which means regulation and restraint."

In its issue of Oct. 9, 1890, the *Tribune* declared: "The Republican Party as a party is squarely committed to High License."

Laws Passed and Laws not Passed by the Fifty-First Congress.

The Fifty-first Congress, which was Republican in both its branches, passed (1) the "Original Package" law, which made liquors imported into any State from another State or from a foreign country subject to the laws of the State the same as if they had been produced in the State; (2) a law prohibiting the sales of liquor within one mile of the Soldiers' Home in Washington; (3) prohibiting the sale of liquor at Soldiers' Homes or military posts in Prohibition States. These are the only laws passed that could be considered as having any important bearing on Prohibition. The first was as necessary to maintain any license system, as to preserve Prohibition; moreover, it was strongly commended by liquor trade papers, as taking the question out of National politics. The New York *Wine and Spirit Gazette* of August 28, 1890, said:

"That ill-considered (Original Package) decision gave a tremendous impetus to the Prohibition nuisance, though on its face it seemed to be a victory of the liquor interests over the Prohibition laws of Iowa. It made a national issue out of the fanatical agitation of the Prohibitionists, and gave

a dignity and importance to the third party which it did not have before. . . . State Prohibition is less to be feared than National Prohibition, which, by the way, affords the only possibility of making Prohibition really effective. We shall fight any and every attempt, no matter in what disguise it may appear, of making a National issue out of the Prohibition abomination."

The other two laws are merely local, and no party ought to claim any particular credit for passing them. They are offset by the law passed, establishing post "canteens," by the same Congress. After two years of operation, these "canteens" are thus described by the *American Grocer*, a New York trade paper (May, 1892):

"But few people know what this expression [Government 'canteens'] means, but it means in plain language that the Government has gone into the business of running a saloon at every army post; that a West Point army officer, who has cost the Government about \$14,000 to educate, superintends it, and enlisted men, who are paid by the Government to serve as soldiers, are detailed to serve as bartenders. This beats Bellamy's socialistic dream* all to pieces, and the administration under which this outrage is perpetrated has proven itself more progressive than even Dr. Rainsford†, for they are using the time of Government employes, and the prestige of the Government to educate and encourage the liquor traffic. A correspondent at one of the army posts writes us that their 'canteen' buys beer by the carload, and the 'canteen' is doing a rushing business."

More significant are the laws this Congress refused to pass, among which were: A bill recommended by the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic Committee, prohibiting entirely the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the District of Columbia; the bill proposing to establish a Commission of Inquiry (p. 31); the bill providing for the submission of an Amendment to the National Constitution, etc.

Republican Party in Amendment Campaigns.

Since 1888, while the Republican Party has been in power in the nation, there have been submitted in nine different States: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Connecticut, and Nebraska—all Republican except Connecticut, which is doubtful—prohibitory amendments to the State Constitutions, proposed on a non-partisan plan, so as to give the people an opportunity to decide the question on its merits. Instead of permitting such a non-partisan decision, in every case the press and machinery of the Republican Party (and the Democratic Party too) were turned to the support of the liquor side. In North Dakota and South Dakota this was not true to so great an extent as in the other

* Edward Bellamy, in "Looking Backward" (page 225), pictures the Government, in his ideal commonwealth of the year 2,000, as conducting all lines of business, the sale of liquors among others.

† Dr. W. S. Rainsford, rector of St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City, in a sermon preached in the latter part of May, 1892, advocated that the Churches conduct the liquor business. He said: "In such a thickly populated city as ours, to attempt to do away with saloons is simply impossible. But we can do the next best thing, and that is, we, as the Christian community, can provide the beer demanded by those who want it, and elevate the standing of the saloon to a level which it has never occupied. Business men of the churches can open saloons, and run them profitably. I do not mean to give away the beer, but to sell it at good prices, with a profit. Let the saloons maintain themselves. They could do so. I only wish that I myself had the money with which to demonstrate that this is the only way to deal with this problem. Would I sell whiskey in these saloons? No, I don't think that I would; but beer, light wines, coffee, and chocolate I certainly would. Reading rooms could be introduced, and the saloons made an attractive place of resort, without intemperance."

States. Indeed, the South Dakota Republican platform of 1889 had a radical Prohibition utterance,* though the party there has since trifled shamefully with its pledges, in the election of candidates who were not in favor of the law, and in winking at violations of the law. The vote on the amendments in these various States may be compared with the Republican and Democratic votes at the nearest general election as follows:

STATES.	Vote for Prohibitory Amendm't.	Republican Party Vote.	Democratic Party Vote.	Officers and Year.
New Hampshire..	25,786	45,724	43,882	President, 1888.
Massachusetts. ...	85,242	183,892	151,855	President, 1888.
Rhode Island.....	9,956	16,870	21,289	Governor, 1889.
Pennsylvania.....	206,617	526,091	446,633	President, 1888.
North Dakota....	18,552	25,365	12,733	Governor, 1889.
South Dakota....	39,509	53,964	23,840	Governor, 1889.
Washington.....	19,546	33,711	24,732	Governor, 1889.
Connecticut.....	22,379	74,584	74,020	President, 1888.
Nebraska.....	82,292	68,878	71,331	Governor, 1890.

From this it will be seen that nowhere near the full vote of either party could have been cast for the amendment. In Nebraska, the People's Party candidate received 70,187 votes.

Using the Consular Service in the Interest of the Brewers.

In 1889, at the solicitation of the brewers and maltsters of the United States, the State Department, under President Harrison's Administration, sent out to the United States consuls in South American and Central American countries the following circular:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
WASHINGTON, December 15, 1889. }

To the Consular Officers of the United States in Mexico, Central and South America, and the West Indies:

Gentlemen: Some of the leading maltsters and brewers of the United States have requested the Department to procure information relative to the malt and beer trade in your respective districts.

The information desired covers such points as the following:

1. The imports of malt, and whence imported; duties charged thereon; cost of the same; cost of the same per bushel, whether imported or locally prepared, etc.

2. The imports of beer, and whence imported; in bottles or wood, and duties charged thereon; kinds of beer most suitable for local consumption; details concerning prices, wholesale and retail, of foreign and domestic beer, etc.

3. How imported malt and beer are placed upon the market, etc.

The motive of this circular being the enlargement of the American trade you will not confine yourselves to the above interrogatories, which are to a large degree suggestive only, but will give as much information as possible concerning every phase of the malt and beer business, so that the maltsters and brewers of the United States may fully understand the requirements necessary to successful trade in each district.

All foreign weights, measures, and money should be stated in American equivalents.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON, Assistant Secretary.

* The plank read: "Recognizing the pernicious influence of the traffic in intoxicating liquors upon every interest of our commonwealth, we favor National and State Prohibition of such traffic and the adoption of the article of our Constitution relating thereto, and the enactment and enforcement of such laws as will make the same effective."

The replies to this circular were printed by the Government in a pamphlet entitled "Malt and Beer in Spanish America," and distributed free of cost among the brewers of this country. The care taken by the State Department not to allow any copies of the circular to circulate among temperance people was significant. Hon. John P. St. John wrote to the State Department for some copies to distribute among some ministers of his acquaintance, and the copies were not sent. He then had somebody with a Teutonic name write that he wanted a few copies to distribute among his liquor dealer friends, and twenty copies were promptly forwarded. At last, when this subterfuge failed to work satisfactorily, the State Department printed the following note, which was sent to suspicious applicants for the malt and beer pamphlet:

DISTRIBUTION OF SPECIAL CONSULAR REPORTS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, July 16, 1891.

The Special Consular Reports, being answers to circulars prepared by the Department at the request of representative industrials, boards of trade, etc., are not intended for general distribution, as in the case, to a degree, of the regular monthly Consular Reports.

The editions of the special Consular Reports are regulated by what the Department estimates to be the number required for the particular industries or interests concerned, and which form the subjects thereof.

The following statement concerning the special reports issued to date will illustrate this point:

Titles.	Number published.
Cotton textiles in foreign countries.....	5,000
Filles in Spanish America.....	2,300
Carpet manufacture in foreign countries.....	5,000
Malt and beer in Spanish America.....	3,500
Fruit culture in foreign countries.....	6,000
Refrigerators in foreign countries.....	5,000
Emigration from Europe.....	5,000
Olive culture in the Alps Maritimes.....	5,000

More than 1,100 copies of each special report issued are mailed to the leading libraries of the country, and from 500 to 1,200 copies, according to the importance of the report, to the newspapers, boards of trade, etc. The remaining copies are mailed to, or reserved for, the industries or interests directly concerned, the limited number published making any other distribution impossible, even were such distribution either profitable or necessary. The limited amount appropriated for the publication of Consular Reports makes any more extended publication equally impossible.

It is, therefore, to be hoped that persons who have no direct interest in the industries which form the subjects of these special Consular Reports will understand and appreciate the rule of the Department, that such special reports are published solely in the interest of the industries directly concerned, and not for general distribution.

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.

Vice-President Morton's "Shoreham."

The Republican Vice-President of the United States, Levi P. Morton, in 1889 built in Washington a fine hotel called "The Shoreham." On Oct. 10, 1889, an application was made for a liquor license, but the papers were afterwards withdrawn, and a new application was made. The only explanation that has been made of the withdrawal of the original papers is that Vice-President Morton's own name appeared thereon. The new papers were made out in the name of Mr. Morton's manager, James R. Keenan, who received a license and has sold liquor under it up to the present writing. In the application, Keenan swore that the owner of the premises was L. P. Morton. A Republican news-

paper, the Pittsburgh, Pa., *Times*, in November, 1830, under the heading "Our Liquor-Selling Vice-President," had the following editorial:

"We observe with regret that the charge that Vice-President Morton is engaged in the retail liquor business can no longer be denied. The license procured by the manager of the Shoreham hotel or flat, hangs displayed, as required by law, in the cafe therof. The list, which is handed to his guests to choose from, has been printed, showing that there is for sale five varieties of whiskey, two of rum, two of brandy, and twenty-five brands of wine. Surely this is enough to satisfy the most variegated appetite for intoxicants. Mr. Morton owns the property; without his formal consent the license could not have been procured, and he shares the profits of the sale of liquor as undeniably as if he stood behind the bar and served it out to customers. The Vice-President of the United States has a legal right to add to his salary the profits of a saloon, undoubtedly. A saloon-keeper is constitutionally eligible for even the Presidency, and the moral sentiment of the country would suffer no greater outrage by a saloon-keeper becoming Vice-President, than it does by a Vice-President turning saloon-keeper."

President Harrison's Barrel of Scotch Whiskey.

On October 22, 1891, there arrived at the port of New York, consigned to Col. Joel B. Erhardt, a barrel of Scotch whiskey, the invoice of which read: "To be forwarded to the Executive Mansion for Hon. Benjamin Harrison, President," etc. The whiskey, according to the description, was purchased in Perth, by "Andrew Carnegie, Cluny Castle." On the end of the cask was inscribed: "2,928. John De War & Sons, Old Highland Whiskey. Perth, N. B. Established, 1846. Awarded nine Prize Medals." Beneath this, penciled in white paint, were the characters:

91 1 R 136 Cont. 14¾

The other head of the cask had a similar inscription with the addition of "C. E., Collector, New York." The *New York World* of Oct. 23, 1891, published a picture of the cask. The barrel was forwarded to President Harrison, and was deposited in the White House wine vaults, where it was seen by several newspaper correspondents. It was sent before the resignation of Collector Erhardt, but did not arrive until after he was out of the collector's office, and it was through that circumstance that Andrew Carnegie's gift to the President came to be made public.

Democratic Party's Attitude Towards Prohibition.

The relatively small number of liquor dealers in Democratic States, as compared with Republican (see pp. 28-9), and the fact that the Democratic Party has passed as many prohibitory laws as the Republican Party, and repealed fewer, are not to be taken as indications that the Democratic Party is any less under the control of the saloon than the Republican. On the contrary, it has not in late years shown any aggressive spirit whatever towards the liquor traffic. Its national declaration, through the platform adopted by the National Convention of 1892 at Chicago (see pp. 105-7), is:

"(21) We are opposed to all sumptuary laws, as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen."

That is generally taken as referring to prohibitory laws, and, if so, means that all the Southern States, which are largely under local Prohibition, should repeal such laws, as being in conflict with Democratic Party principles.

Interpretations of the Anti-Sumptuary Plank.

By "sumptuary laws" are to be understood petty regulations governing what people shall expend for food, drink, clothing, etc. Laws prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors do not answer that description. By applying the term "sumptuary laws" to prohibitory enactments, the Democratic Party begs the whole question. That the term is intended so to apply is shown by the fact that it cannot well apply to anything else, and that liquor men and others so interpret it, and have interpreted it for the last 16 years, the national platforms since 1876 having all either used the language, or reaffirmed previous platforms that did use it. *Mida's Criterion* (liquor organ), of Chicago, in commenting on the Republican and Democratic platforms, evidently takes that view. It says:

"The great political parties have tackled the liquor problem in their platforms in so terse a manner that the voter can see at once where they stand. The Republicans take a negative position, the Democrats a positive. The Republicans sympathize with the efforts to put down intemperance, the Democrats boldly denounce sumptuary legislation. Each party is instinctively true to its basic principles."

United States Senator M. W. Ransom, of North Carolina, when asked for the interpretation of the plank, said : *

"It primarily refers to the liquor traffic, but it also includes all legislation of that character. We are opposed to all legislation that interferes with the habits, customs, desires, and social practices of the people."

Debauchery at the Chicago Convention.

The Convention that nominated Cleveland and Stephenson, in Chicago, in 1892, was less conspicuous in its drunkenness and general debauchery than the Republican Convention at Minneapolis, only because it was lost to some extent in the larger city. The same violation of the law on the Sunday preceding the convention was noticeable. The Palmer House, the headquarters of the National Democratic Committee, was the scene of a most disgraceful drunken row on Sunday night between delegates who were for Cleveland, and delegates who were for Boies.

Democratic Party in Congress.

The Democratic Party in Congress has persistently placed itself in the way of all legislation against the liquor interests. Its representatives have openly fought and voted against the Commission of Inquiry bill, and have defeated it several times, when it would have passed otherwise. The organ of the liquor interests in Washington, the *Sentinel*, is Democratic. The majority of the Democratic members in the House of Representatives voted against the Original Package bill, and the bill prohibiting liquor selling at military posts in Prohibition States.

Democratic Policy in Various States.

In the South, the general policy of the Democrats is Local Option and High License. In the North, the attitude seems to be, less restriction than now exists. The Iowa Democratic platform of 1891 declared :

* *Voice* interview, June 30, 1892.

"We demand the repeal of the prohibitory liquor law, and, in the interests of true temperance, we favor the passage of a carefully guarded license law."

In Nebraska, the platform of 1891 declared:

"We congratulate the people of the State on the defeat of the Prohibition Amendment."

In New York and Ohio, the "Old Sumptuary" plank was adopted, slightly varied. In most of the other States, no reference whatever was made to the liquor question in the platforms of the party in 1891.

Attitude of the People's Party Towards Prohibition.

The only utterance that could be construed as bearing on the liquor question, in the national platform of the People's Party, adopted at Omaha, Neb., July 4, 1892 (see pages 112-113), was:

"While our sympathies, as a party of reform, are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous, and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions—important as they are—as secondary to the great issues now pressing for a solution," etc.

This amounts to a confession that the party has no policy to propose in regard to the liquor question. No special effort was made in the Omaha Convention to obtain a Prohibition plank, though quite a desperate attempt was made in the Industrial Conference, at St. Louis, Mo., in February, 1892, which issued the call for the People's Party Convention, to obtain some definite expression; but the effort was unsuccessful, and the platform as adopted omitted to make any mention of the question. Among the advocates of the party are many persons who believe firmly in Prohibition, and at one time the party seemed to be drifting towards Prohibition. In several States it endorsed that policy. A vigorous opposition sprang up, however, inspired partly by men who had business interests to which the advocacy of Prohibition would be ruinous,* and partly by a general fear that an open endorsement of Prohibition would drive away some persons who were with the party on other issues, but opposed to Prohibition.

The Scheme for "Nationalizing" the Traffic.

In the St. Louis Industrial Conference before-mentioned, there were a number of men who strenuously advocated a plank, such as had already been adopted in Ohio and Massachusetts, and possibly one or two other States, declaring for the "nationalization" of the liquor traffic, by which it was proposed that the Government assume control of all the distilleries, breweries, and retail establishments, and conduct them through salaried agents. The Conference rejected the plan without much ceremony.

* Edward Evans, of Tonawanda, N. Y., is authority for the statement, which has gone undenied for over a year, that Robert Schilling, National Secretary of the People's Party, said, in a conference in the Briggs House, Chicago, June 13, 1892, that if the new party espoused Prohibition, it would bankrupt him (Schilling) and Norton, editor of the *Sentinel*, the party's chief organ.

† The Ohio platform declared: "We believe that the solution of the liquor problem lies in abolishing the element of profit, which is a source of constant temptation and evil, and we therefore demand that the exclusive

Methodist Episcopal Church on Prohibition.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at its quadriennial session in Omaha, Neb., in May, 1892, adopted the following report on Temperance and Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic:

Reaffirming our former deliverances on total abstinence and Prohibition, we present for your approval the following brief declarations:

(1) *Progress and Duty.*—We are profoundly grateful to God for the progress already made in every phase of the temperance reform, and hold it to be the duty and privilege of the Methodist Episcopal Church, both to save the fallen and to wage an increasingly aggressive warfare against the liquor traffic.

(2) *Personal Abstinence.*—The word of God, the teachings of science, and the lessons of experience all combine in declaring total abstinence from intoxicating beverages to be the duty of every individual.

(3) *Other Organizations.*—We are in full sympathy with and bid a hearty God speed to all organizations, of every name and nature, that seek to promote the cause of total abstinence and accomplish the overthrow of the liquor traffic.

(4) *Attitude toward the Traffic.*—We reiterate the language of the Episcopal Address of 1888: "The liquor traffic is so pernicious in all its bearings, so inimical to the interests of honest trade, so repugnant to the moral sense, so injurious to the peace and order of society, so hurtful to the home, to the church, and to the body politic, and so utterly antagonistic to all that is precious in life, that the only proper attitude toward it, for Christians, is that of relentless hostility. It can never be legalized without sin." We concur in the Episcopal Address of 1892, where it is declared: "In our judgment the saloon is an unmixed evil, full of diabolism, a disgrace to our civilization, the chief corruptor of political action and a continual menace to the order of society and the peace and purity of our homes." Believing as we do that the traffic in intoxicating beverages sustains the relation of an efficient cause to the vice of intemperance, we hold that no member of the Methodist Episcopal Church can consistently contribute by voice, vote or influence to the perpetuation and protection of that traffic. We declare before all the world that the Church of God ought to be known always and everywhere as the relentless and uncompromising foe of this ungodly business, and that it is the duty of every Christian to wage ceaseless warfare against it.

(5) *Attitude toward Trafficker and his Supporters.*—We emphatically declare that men engaged in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages ought not to receive the commercial patronage of Christian people, nor should those who either directly or indirectly sustain the ungodly traffic receive the suffrages of Christian men.

(6) *The License System.*—License laws are the liquor traffic's strongest bulwark of defense. They are wrong in principle and impotent for good. We are unalterably opposed to the enactment of laws that propose by license, taxing or otherwise, to regulate the drink traffic, because they provide for its continuance and afford no protection against its ravages. We will accept no compromise, but demand the unconditional surrender of the rebellious business.

(7) *Government and the Traffic.*—We rejoice in the clear announcement of the Supreme Court of the United States touching the saloon question, as follows: "The State cannot by any contract limit the exercise of her power to the prejudice of the public health and the public morals. No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The public themselves cannot do this, much less their servants. Government is organized with a view to their preservation, and cannot divest itself of the power to provide for them." "There is no inherent right in a citizen to thus sell intoxicating liquors by retail; it is not a privilege of a citizen of the State, or a citizen of the United States." "The statistics of every State show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits obtained at these liquor saloons than to any other cause." "By the general concurrence of opinion of every civilized and Christian community, there are few sources of crime and misery to society equal to the dram shop, where intoxicating liquors in small quantities, to be drunk at the time, are sold indiscriminately to all parties applying." "The great principle of the common law, which is equally the teaching of Christian morality, is so to use one's property as not to injure others."

importation, exportation, manufacture, and sale of spirituous liquors shall be conducted by the Government or State, at cost, through agencies and salaried officials in such towns and cities as shall apply for such agencies."

While commending the United States Senate for its action in the premises, we condemn the Lower House of our National Congress for its repeated refusal to pass the bills providing for the appointment of a National Commission of Inquiry, to investigate and report upon the influence of the liquor traffic upon the material and moral welfare of the country. We insist that the United States Government, and the various State governments, in tolerating the liquor traffic for a money consideration, are guilty of wicked complicity with a business, whose awful work of destruction brands it as alike an enemy to God and man. We desire especially to place ourselves on record as repudiating, to the utmost of our ability, the action of the general government, through the Department of State, in prostituting its powers at the request of American brewers and malsters, to collect information and to use the machinery of government to promote the sale of American liquors in South American countries.

(8) *Political Action.*—We recommend all members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who enjoy the elective franchise, to so use that solemn trust as to promote the rescue of our country from the guilt and dishonor which have been brought upon it by a criminal complicity with the liquor traffic.

"We do not presume to dictate the political conduct of our people, but we do record our deliberate judgment that no political party has a right to expect, nor ought it to receive, the support of Christian men so long as it stands committed to the license policy, or refuses to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the saloon."

Presbyterian Church on Prohibition.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at its triennial session in Portland, Oreg., May and June, 1892, adopted the report of its Committee on Temperance, protesting against the legalizing of the liquor traffic in Alaska, and reaffirming the deliverances of former assemblies, and branding the saloon license as a curse. The report adds:

"It is the sense of this committee that while it is not in the province of the church to dictate to any man how he shall vote, yet the committee declares that no political party has the right to expect the support of the Christian men so long as that party stands committed to the license policy, or refuses to put itself on record against the saloon."

Utterances of Other Religious Bodies.

Nearly all the different religious denominations have made official utterances against the liquor traffic. Those utterances, more in detail than they can be given here, will be found in the "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition," under the name of the respective denominations. A few extracts will show the drift of these declarations:

LUTHERAN (English Branch), June, 1887.—"The right, and therefore the wisest and most efficient, method of dealing with the traffic in alcoholic liquors for drinking purposes is its suppression; and we, therefore, also urge those who comprise the church which we represent to endeavor to secure in every State the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage."

BAPTIST (through American Baptist Home Mission Society), 1890.—"Resolved, That we declare ourselves among its [the liquor traffic's] most relentless foes, believing that it has no defensible right to exist."

ROMAN CATHOLIC (Baltimore Plenary Council), 1884-5.—"We warn our faithful people who sell intoxicating liquors to consider seriously by how many and how serious dangers and occasions of sin their business—although lawful in itself—is surrounded. If they can, let them choose a more honorable way of making a living."

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN (General Assembly), 1899.—"That any form of license or taxation of the liquor traffic is unscriptural in principle and contrary to good government. . . . That total abstinence is the only safe rule for the individual, and prohibition by law of the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage the true method of dealing with this terrible evil by the State."

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN (General Assembly), 1899.—"That nothing short of constitutional and statutory prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors as beverages, by the United States and the several States, will be satisfactory, and to this end we will pray and work."

Number of Christian Voters in the United States.

The number of church communicants of various denominations had not been announced by the Census Bureau when this volume went to press. The "World Almanac" for 1890 estimated the number of Protestant Church communicants to be about 13,000,000, and the number of Catholic communicants to be about 8,000,000. The latter include all persons born within the families of Catholic parents, whereas the number of Protestants includes only actual communicants, who, of their own volition had united with the different denominations. In the total population in 1890, just 25 per cent. were males over 21 years of age. The per cent. of males over 21 years of age in the membership of churches is not as large as in the whole population, probably. If it were 20 per cent. the number of Protestant voters would be about 2,600,000, and the number of Catholic voters 1,600,000. Probably 4,000,000 in all would not be placing it too high.

Supreme Court Basis of Prohibition.

The decisions of the United States Supreme Court have laid down several principles of law, and made application of the same to the liquor traffic in a way that seems to present a perfect chain of logic in favor of Prohibition. These decisions have been arranged by the *Voice* as follows:

I. *Not An Inherent Right.*

There is no inherent right in a citizen to sell intoxicating liquors by retail; it is not a privilege of a citizen of a State, or of a citizen of the United States.—*U. S. Supreme Court, California vs. Christiansen.*

II. *Can the Legislature Confer the Right.*

No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves can not do it, much less their servants. Government is organized with a view to their preservation, and cannot divest itself of the power to provide for them.—*U. S. Supreme Court, Stone vs. Mississippi.*

III. *Can this Apply to License?*

For we cannot shut out of view the fact, within the knowledge of all, that the public health, the public morals and the public safety may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks; nor the fact established by statistics accessible to every one, that the disorder, pauperism and crime prevalent in the country are, in some degree at least, traceable to this evil.—*U. S. Supreme Court in Kansas Cases.*

The statistics of every State show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits obtained at these retail liquor saloons than to any other source.—*U. S. Supreme Court, California vs. Christiansen.*

Anti-Nuisance League.

In accordance with this logic, an organization has been formed, called the National Anti-Nuisance League, with the purpose of carrying to the United States Supreme Court the question of the constitutionality of the liquor traffic and of license laws under which the traffic is carried on. The League was organized in 1888. Its president is W. Jennings Demorest, of New York City. It has already instituted several suits in line with its purpose, the principal one of which was argued in the Supreme Court of Indiana, by Col. Eli F. Ritter, of Indianapolis. The Indiana courts decided adversely to the plaintiffs, who were property owners in a neighborhood upon which saloons began to encroach, and to cause depreciation of property value; but the question will be carried to the United States Supreme Court in the most satisfactory form that can be agreed upon.

Significant Utterances Relating to the Drink Problem.

In the few following pages have been grouped a number of significant utterances by newspapers, prominent men, organizations, etc., throwing light on various phases of the Prohibition and Temperance question.

THE SELFISH AND UNSCRUPULOUS CHARACTER OF THE LIQUOR POWER.

The City Reform Club is not interested for or against the liquor traffic as such. It is not concerned with the effect of that traffic upon the individual, but only with the influence of the liquor dealer upon the politics and the government of this city, directly and through his influence in State politics. The Club observes that that influence is constantly exerted against the interest of the people, and on the side of corruption; and it now sees in the liquor dealers' bill of this year the amazing spectacle of an organized business seeking to subvert for private gain the fundamental principles of our law. The Club sees farther, that this business has acquired, by constant vigilance, unremitting effort, and large expenditures, enormous power in the politics of this State. In all their efforts, the liquor dealers are united without regard to party. They care nothing for political principles. Their united strength is used only for private gain. The evil has reached a stage at which it can be considered without reference to the question of the natural right of a man to engage in the liquor trade, of the right of the State to restrict that trade, and of the amount of injury or of benefit resulting from it. The most beneficent business, organized as the liquor trade is organized in this State, exerting the same power with voters, politicians, and legislators, and showing the same determination to attain its private ends by any means and at any cost to the people, would be such an enemy of the State as to excite the open hostility of all patriotic citizens. It would show itself to be such an enemy as must be put down; and it would force upon the people the question whether it ought not to be suppressed before it could further usurp the executive and legislative functions of government.—*Report of the City Reform Club, of New York, for 1891.*

THE INTIMATE ASSOCIATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC WITH OTHER VICES.

The Phillips law, passed by the last Legislature of Ohio, forbidding the sale of liquors in houses of ill-fame, went into effect on May 25. The importers of champagne in this city are beginning to feel the loss of business in Ohio. Piper Helselck representatives in Cincinnati claim that the enforcement of the law in the big cities of Ohio will cost them \$40,000 annually; Mumm Company's representatives estimate their loss at \$30,000; importers of Pomeroy Sec claim that they will lose \$60,000, and other importers will suffer proportionate losses. The local brewers also feel the effect of the new law, as many of the houses in Cincinnati and Cleveland sold large quantities of beer.—*New York Wine and Spirit Gazette, June 28.*

THE KIND OF PENALTIES THAT LIQUOR MEN CARE ABOUT.

The liquor dealers of Maine are badly scared. The new liquor law, which went into effect May 8, makes the penalty for search and seizure, keeping a tipping shop, etc., \$100 fine and sixty days in jail, first offense, with an additional sixty days in jail if the fine is not paid. The dealers are afraid of this law. They have never cared very much about fines, but the jail is quite a different thing. Under the old laws they would pay a few fines a year, which would hardly amount to a high license fee in other States, but they now see that if the new law is enforced it means jail the first time. The old law provided imprisonment for the second offense, but few dealers suffered this penalty, because the first offense was seldom alleged in the warrant when a man was caught the second time, and he escaped by paying \$100 and costs. There are men selling liquor in Maine who have been caught a dozen times under the old law, but they paid a fine and kept out of jail. Now they fear imprisonment for the first conviction.—*New York Innkeeper's Journal, May, 1891.*

IMPARTIAL TESTIMONY AS TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PROHIBITION IN KANSAS.

So many conflicting statements have been made regarding the effect of the Prohibition law in this State, as well as its enforcement, that a personal inspection of its working has been made by the *Times'* representative in twenty counties. The results of this tour, taken in connection with the knowledge obtained from members of the Legislature last winter, forces the belief, primarily, that Prohibition in Kansas is a permanent fixture. . . . When the Prohibitory law was enforced there were 1,000 prisoners in the State penitentiary. Since that time there have been added to the population

of Kansas more than 250,000 people, while the number of prisoners has been reduced to 812. Of the 100 jails in the State 80 are empty, excepting where insane persons are held awaiting room in the insane asylums, while the number of paupers on the poor farms has decreased one-half. The opponents of this law assert that the driving out of the saloons has caused a stagnation of business in all the cities, and that this law is responsible for the present dull times. And yet Topeka, with no saloons, has been constantly growing, while Wichita, with sixty saloons, has been decreasing in population. Pittsburg has doubled its population, while Hutchinson, of equal size, with saloons, has but held its own, although it has added to its industries thirteen large salt plants, and three packing-houses. Similar comparisons might be made with other cities. These instances are given simply to show that no one can tell the causes of the present depression, not even an Alliance man, but at best can only assign what he believes to be the cause. Is Kansas better off? There are in the cities and towns thousands of boys sixteen years of age who never saw a saloon, and only know from hearsay what they are like. It is a fact that public sentiment at large indorses the Prohibition law, while only in few localities does public sentiment indorse the saloon. In the latter there is a revenue. The sale of liquor, as a rule, is as clandestine as is thievery, with as much fear for the consequences if discovery follows.—*Special correspondence in the New York Times (an anti-Prohibition paper), Aug. 31, 1891.*

SENATOR INGALLS ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PROHIBITION IN KANSAS.

Kansas has abolished the saloon. The open dramshop traffic is as extinct as the sale of indulgences. A drunkard is a phenomenon. The barkeeper has joined the troubador, the crusader and the mound-builder. The brewery, the distillery and the bonded warehouse are known only to the archaeologist. . . . Temptation being removed from the young and the infirm, they have been fortified and redeemed. The liquor dealer being proscribed is an outlaw, and his vocation disreputable. Drinking being stigmatized, is out of fashion, and the consumption of intoxicants has enormously decreased. Intelligent and conservative observers estimate the reduction at 90 per cent.; it cannot be less than 75. The increase in the number of the Internal Revenue stamps sold by the Collector from year to year is explained by the fact that they are required of all druggists, and many of them are repetitions and renewals for short terms. . . . One of the most significant and extraordinary results is the diminution of crime in the State. At the January (1889) term of the District Court of the county in which the capitol is situated, there was not a single criminal case on the docket. Many city and county prisons are without a tenant. The number and percentage of the convicts in the State Penitentiary have been remarkably diminished.—*Senator John J. Ingalls* of Kansas, in the Forum Magazine, August, 1889.*

THE POPE'S ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE TOTAL ABSTINENCE MOVEMENT.

We are rejoiced to learn with what energy and zeal the Catholic Total Abstinence Union is combating the destructive vice of intemperance. Hence we esteem worthy of all commendation and approval the association and its noble resolves. . . . The greatest of all in this matter should be the priests. Let pastors, therefore, do their best to drive the plague of intemperance from the fold of Christ by assiduous preaching and exhortation, and let them shine before their congregations as models of total abstinence, so the many calamities with which this vice threatens both Church and State may by the strenuous endeavors of these pastors be averted.—*Pope Leo XII., in Letter to Archbishop Ireland, March 27, 1887.*

THE DRINK SCOURGE IN WINE-DRINKING FRANCE.

It has been said with truth that of all the dangers menacing our agricultural population at the present day, the gravest and the most difficult to fight against is alcoholism. No one can have been a resident of a country district without being struck with the development of this scourge during the last thirty years, the deplorable effects of which are everywhere visible. The habit of saving that was so long the strength and the glory of our tillers of the soil is gradually disappearing. The money box of the liquor sellers swallows up, sou by sou, the wages that formerly, in the form of silver pieces, were hidden away in some corner of the clothes press to be brought

*Two years later Mr. Ingalls, in an utterance at National Prohibition Park, Staten Island, N. Y., August, 1891, contradicted his former utterance, declaring "There is not an organized municipal corporation there whose expenses are not paid by the taxes levied upon the recognized and open traffic in intoxicating liquors." *The Voice* of August 27 and Sept. 3, 1891, printed numerous letters from Kansas municipal authorities flatly denying Mr. Ingalls' later statement.

out when enough was accumulated to buy a little piece of ground. The peace and harmony of families is seriously impaired. In the villages the women are reduced, like the wives of workmen in the towns, to haunt the doors of the drunk shop in order to rescue the bread of their children from the alcoholic gulf. In most of our hamlets the drunkard, who was formerly the exception, has multiplied by contagion.—*Le Petit Journal, Paris, July 13, 1891.*

A LIQUOR PAPER'S BOAST OF POLITICAL POWER.

Do you deny that the liquor vote controls the situation of this State? What defeated Warner Miller and elected Governor Hill? What gave the Democratic party its present majority in the Assembly? What elected the Tammany ticket in this city last year? Was it not the united strength of the liquor vote? . . . Regard for self-preservation and self-protection has consolidated the liquor dealers, and forced them into an attitude in which they have become a power in politics.—*New York Wine and Spirit Gazette, April 28, 1891.*

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S READINESS TO SERVE THE LIQUOR INTERESTS.

There is one thing about the drift of legislation there (Albany), which is emphatic. The liquor dealers, who have been fooled into spending their money continually for the Democratic party, have found that they cannot pass measures that they desire through a Democratic House. They have had some of their favorite bills passed in the Senate, which is Republican, but not one in the House. They may get their eyes open to the fact that the Democratic party has been bleeding them all these years without any real intention of befriending them by legislation if they come into power.—*J. Stout Fassel, member of the Republican National Committee, and Candidate for Governor of New York in 1891, in an interview in the Ithaca, N. Y. Journal (Rep.), a short time before his nomination for Governor.*

THE ISSUES BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

Upon my honor, I could not name a question of any moment dividing the Democrats from the Republicans. Perhaps some of you may say the tariff bill. . . . Believe me, there is no issue of parties in America on the tariff, except as to details, and any change that is made will not disturb the manufacturers which they have seen fit to establish.—*Andrew Carnegie, in an address in Dundee, Scotland, in September, 1890.*

A LIQUOR PAPER'S VIEW OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

The truth in the controversy which of the two great political parties is the better liquor party, is to be found on a neutral middle ground. The opposition to the liquor traffic and the tendency to restrict the traffic as much as possible are as clearly defined in certain sections of the Democratic party as in certain sections of the Republican Party. There are fanatics and liberal-minded men in both political parties. It must be admitted, however, that the new attitude on the liquor question taken by the Republicans of this State in their Rochester platform—which is a departure from their former policy—offers a more equitable and practicable solution of the liquor problem than anything the Democratic Party has ever attempted in this State.—*Wine and Spirit Review, New York City, May 28, 1892.*

THE PROHIBITION PARTY'S INFLUENCE IN COMPELLING OLD PARTIES TO TAKE A STAND.

It is due to the Prohibition Party to say that the fear of its growing influence acting upon the regular parties was the cause of High License laws by several States. It can scarcely be questioned that the passage of the admirable High License law of Pennsylvania was secured, not directly by the Prohibitionists, who opposed it, but indirectly by them. The Republican leaders feared that if the liquor traffic were not restricted and regulated the Prohibition party would receive the support of formidable numbers of those whose views upon the question were more moderate, and who would be satisfied with the High License provisions. To prevent that they consented to High License.—*Philadelphia Public Ledger, June 28, 1892.*

LIQUOR MEN'S ANXIETY TO KEEP THE LIQUOR ISSUE LOCAL.

The rejection of the Prohibition clause by the National People's Party [at St. Louis in 1891] is a cause for considerable satisfaction. Had the party adopted it, there was a chance of Prohibition becoming a national issue and it should be the constant effort of the liquor interest to confine it to State lines at least.—*Pacific Wine and Spirit Gazette in June, 1891.*

A PROMINENT BUSINESS MAN'S PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

Twenty-five years ago I knew every man, woman and child in Peekskill, and it has been a study with me to mark boys who started in every grade of life with myself, to see what has become of them. I was up last fall and

began to count them over, and it was an instructive exhibit. Some of them became clerks, merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, doctors. It is remarkable that every one of those that drank is dead; not one living of my age. Barring a few who were taken off by sickness, every one who proved a wreck and wrecked his family did it from ruin and no other cause. Of those who were church-going people, who were steady, industrious and hard-working men, who were frugal and thrifty, every single one of them, without an exception, owns the house in which he lives and has something laid by, the interest on which, with his house, would carry him through many a rainy day. When a man becomes debased with gambling, rum or drink, he doesn't care; all his finer feelings are crowded out.—*Chauncey M. Depeu, President of the New York Central Railroad, in a speech in March, 1890, to a company of railroad men.*

A GREAT BREWING CONCERN'S METHODS FOR CREATING A DEMAND.

One of the largest jobs of printing ever undertaken in this country is now being executed by King, Towle & Co., Milwaukee. It consists of 20,000,000 books called "Secrets," issued by the Pabst-Brewing Company of that city. It is the intention of Captain Pabst to leave a book upon the doorstep of every house in all the cities of the United States which has a population of 2,500. The ground has been gone over once, and it took 5,180,000 books to do it. The intention is to go over the country that way four times. The cost of the whole job is \$98,000, and King, Towle & Co. are under contract to deliver 45,000 books every 24 hours. It will take 27 carloads of paper to make 20,000,000 books.—*Inland Printer, Chicago, March, 1890.*

INTIMATE CONNECTION BETWEEN WHISKEY-DRINKING AND RACE DIFFICULTIES.

Whiskey-drinking and blood-shedding are as inseparable as cause and effect. Subtract from the sum total of the so-called race collisions, great and small, all that were the direct or indirect results of strong drink, and the number left would be astonishingly few. . . . We deliberately affirm our conviction that if we could suppress drunkenness among us, the race problem would thereby be at once half solved.—*Nashville, Tenn., Christian Advocate, Jan. 11, 1890.*

A PEOPLE'S PARTY ORGAN ON THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF AVOIDING THE LIQUOR ISSUE.

The saloon will not let us ignore it. On every occasion it is on hand with as much insolence as any other agency of the money power. It met the Cincinnati Convention [Industrial Conference of 1891] at the threshold declaring what should and what should not be the things to confer about, and with pandemonium let loose overcame all efforts at rational discussion. It came up to St. Louis with the same domineering spirit, and by sheer force of resistance compelled that Conference Committee on platform to rescind the action which had been taken. And again at the Indiana State Convention last week this was the one cause of contention. There was a vigilant, determined canvass made beforehand to fix the committee on resolutions against any meddling with the saloon.—*American Non-conformist, of Indianapolis, commenting on the rejection of a Prohibition resolution by the Indiana People's Party.*

WHY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ADOPTED THE HIGH LICENSE POLICY.

The faith of the Republican Party is distinctly pledged to the integrity of the High License system. Thousands of Republicans, whose eyes turned with conscientious longing toward the Prohibition Party, have been persuaded of this, and stood fast in the Republican ranks.—*Pittsburgh, Pa., Times (Rep.), March 10, 1891.*

EFFECT OF MODERATE DRINKING ON THE DRINKER'S CHILDREN.

When men wish to drink whiskey every day for a considerable number of years, they should not at the same time beget children, for, unless the mother organization has an extraordinary atoning and counterbalancing influence, the children are doomed to some form of neuropathic degeneration.—*C. H. Hughes, M.D., Editor of the Alienist and Neurologist, St. Louis, Mo., in the Voice of March 19, 1891.*

A PROMINENT LIQUOR PAPER ON THE CHARACTER OF THE LIQUOR BUSINESS.

It is all very well for the wine and spirit trade to quiet its apprehensions by reverting to the majorities against Prohibition in the Michigan, Texas, Tennessee, Oregon and West Virginia elections, but the fact is still apparent that the sentiment against our business is constantly growing in this country and gaining friends among the most substantial element in our population. The question is a grave one, and the sooner we appreciate fully the hold it

is securing on the public mind and conscience the better. It is to most of its followers what the slavery question was to its adherents—a great moral question. The good that alcohol does is little referred to; the harmful effects following its abuse are seen by all the world. To check this abuse is the aim of the conservative classes, and, hoping to find a remedy in Prohibition, they are rapidly falling into its ranks. We are familiar with society's complaints against the liquor traffic. We realize that there is good ground for many of these complaints. We deplore these facts, but stand helpless and without a word of advice to those who would correct them. Herein lies our weakness. We are without a policy. We see young men becoming drunkards, but we offer no remedy. We see old men turn to common sots, but we offer no remedy. We see the scum of society flocking into the retail liquor business, but we offer no remedy. We see these men gain control of city governments, but we offer no remedy. We see the retail business dragged down to the level of the bawdy house, and little hells are operated in public places under liquor licenses, but we offer no remedy. The great mass of our fellow-citizens are not opposed to the manufacture or sale of wine, beer or whisky, but they are opposed to the abuses referred to above, and demand their correction. They are right, and we should add our protest to theirs. We should define an aggressive policy that will attract them to our standard. We should demand the passage of restrictive laws that will prevent any but reputable men retailing wines and spirits.—*Benfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, Feb. 10, 1889.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN ON THE ABOLITION OF THE LIQUOR BUSINESS.

Whether or not the world would be vastly benefited by the total and final banishment from it of all intoxicating drinks, seems to me not now an open question. Three-fourths of mankind confess the affirmative with their tongues; and, I believe, all the rest acknowledge it in their hearts. . . . And when the victory shall be complete—when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth—how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace and the cradle of both those revolutions that shall have ended in that victory. How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species.—*Abraham Lincoln,* in a speech delivered in Springfield, Ill., Feb. 22, 1842.*

A NOTED HISTORIAN ON THE CHURCH'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SLAVERY AND PROHIBITION.

I remember well the attitude of the religious press and the pulpit in the great Abolition movement. That attitude was timid and denunciatory. It was urged that moral suasion and restriction must be relied on, that slavery was a moral question and must not be mixed up in politics. The great proportion of those ministers and editors were Abolitionists in principle, but they hesitated, they loved the old Whig Party, and they believed that in some way that party would rid the land of the curse. Other means than that of a new party, in which moral ideas predominated, were tried in vain. Finally, courageous men of both of the old political parties organized a third party. In 1854, the Republican party, resolved on the adoption of political measures. Even then the religious press and the pulpit, with some conspicuous exceptions, continued to scold and to warn their progressive opponents of slavery. But Providence led the hosts of justice and righteousness, and the Emancipation Proclamation and its happy effects were the results—this in spite of much scolding and protesting from the religious press and the pulpit. I have observed closely the present Prohibition contest, and I am confident that

* The liquor press has published the following paragraph as an utterance of Abraham Lincoln's:

"Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance. It is a species of intemperance within itself, for it goes beyond the bounds of reason in that it attempts to control a man's appetite by legislation, and in making crimes out of things that are not crimes. A Prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our country was founded. I have always been found laboring to protect the weaker classes from the stronger, and I never can give my consent to such a law as you propose to enact. Until my tongue shall be silenced in death shall I continue to fight for the rights of man."

There is no evidence that Lincoln ever used such language. On the contrary, it seems to be a sort of accidental forgery, that originated in the Atlanta Local Option Contest, to influence the negro vote. A circular was printed, containing a picture representing Lincoln striking the shackles from a slave, underneath which were printed the words here quoted. The circular did not state that the words were Lincoln's, though that was the impression intended to be conveyed to the ignorant negroes; but liquor documents have since freely used the quotation, with Lincoln's name attached.

history is repeating itself; a new party, a third party casting off all allegiance to other parties, and relying upon the power of its own principles, will ultimately triumph, and the timid, scolding religious editors and preachers of to-day will then join the general rejoicing, while the nation chants a *Te Deum Laudamus*.—*Benson J. Lossing in the Voice of Oct. 31, 1889.*

A SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC PAPER ON WHISKEY AND RACE DIFFICULTIES.

While there is no election on hand, while we may reasonably expect a hearing for the truth, we wish to re-enforce this presentation of fact by condensing into one word the chief cause of all "race troubles;" of nearly all crimes committed by negroes and against them; of the negro's poverty; of his failure to secure the respect of respectable people, and of his disorderly habits. The word is "whiskey." The negro who gets into trouble with a white man is generally drunk. If he is not, the white man is. They (the negroes) spend every day for whiskey money enough to endow a university and to found a hundred schools. And if this money is not in some way saved for schools, the equivalent of it will have to be invested in police clubs and militia rifles. That is "the negro problem"—*St. Louis Republic (Dem.), Sept. 21, 1889.*

THE NECESSITY OF AN UNCOMPROMISING ATTITUDE POLITICALLY.

A party of compromise can never put away the saloon. Any party must be a party of compromise as to temperance, in which the deacon and the distiller, the bishop and the brewer touch elbows at the polls, vote for the same candidates, and support the same policy. Ours is the only party standing with both feet on the solid rock of right, and in it we must remain, to its nominees we must be loyal, to its dominant purpose we must be true till victory we achieve.—*Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, in letter in the Voice, Sept. 12.*

A SCIENTIFIC VIEW OF BEER-DRINKING AND ITS RESULTS.

For some years a decided inclination has been apparent all over the country to give up the use of whiskey and other strong alcohols, using as a substitute beer and other compounds. This is evidently founded on the idea that beer is not harmful and contains a large amount of nutriment; also that bitters may have some medical quality which will neutralize the alcohol which it conceals. These theories are without confirmation in the observation of physicians and chemists where either has been used for any length of time. The constant use of beer is found to produce a species of degeneration of all the organism profound and deceptive. Fatty deposits, diminished circulation, conditions of congestion and perversion of functional activities, local inflammations of both liver and kidneys are constantly present. Intellectually, a stupor amounting almost to paralysis arrests the reason, precipitating all the higher faculties into a mere animalism sensual, selfish, sluggish, varied only with paroxysms of anger that are senseless and brutal; in appearance the beer-drinker may be the picture of health, but in reality he is most incapable of resisting disease. A slight injury, severe cold, or a shock to the body or mind will commonly provoke acute disease, ending fatally. Compared with inebriates who use different kinds of alcohol, he is more incurable and more generally diseased. The constant use of beer every day gives the system no time for recuperation, but steadily lowers the vital forces. It is our observation that beer drinking in this country produces the very lowest kind of inebriety, closely allied to criminal insanity. The most dangerous class of ruffians in large cities are beer-drinkers. It is asserted by competent authority that the evils of heredity are more positive in this class than from alcoholics. If these facts are well founded the recourse to beer as a substitute for alcohol merely increases the danger and fatality following. In bitters we have a drink which can never become general; but its chief danger will be in strengthening the disordered cravings, which latter develop a positive disease. Public sentiment and legislation should comprehend that all forms of alcohol are more or less dangerous when used steadily; and all persons who use them in this way should come under sanitary and legislative control.—*Quarterly Journal of Inebriety, April, 1879. Quoted without dissent by the Scientific American, the Medical Times, and other scientific papers.*

HOW THE LIQUOR POWER BLOCKS THE WAY OF INDUSTRIAL REFORM.

I am perfectly satisfied that no reform can possibly be inaugurated so long as the rum power exists. I have had some experience in what is known as "the labor movement," politically. I realized long ago how hopeless was the task of achieving reform politically so long as the saloon existed.—*Letter in the Voice of May 21, 1891, by Dr. A. S. Houghton, of Connecticut, then National Secretary of the United Labor Party.*

Prohibition Party.

Organization.—The National Prohibition Party was organized in Chicago, Ill., September 1, 1869, in pursuance to a call of a committee, consisting of Rev. John Russell of Michigan, Prof. Daniel Wilkins of Illinois, J. A. Spencer, of Ohio, John N. Stearns, of New York, and James Black, of Pennsylvania, appointed by the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars, convened at Oswego, N. Y., May 27, 1869. It has had candidates for President and Vice-President in the field in each National election since.

Name.—The Convention of 1876 changed the name from "National Prohibition Party, as in 1869 and 1872, to "National Prohibition Reform Party," and the Convention of 1880 retained that name. The Convention of 1883 again changed the name to "Prohibition Home Protection Party," but the National Nominating Convention of 1884 went back to the original name, which was also retained by the Convention of 1888. The convention of 1892 omits from the name the word "National," making it simply "The Prohibition Party."

Platform Declarations.—The national platforms, in addition to their declarations against the liquor traffic and against other parties for complicity in that traffic, have contained many radical utterances on other issues, among which have been the following:

1872.—"That we favor the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by direct vote of the people."

1872.—"We are opposed to any discrimination of capital against labor, as well as to all monopoly, and class legislation."

1872.—"That the rates of inland and ocean postage, of telegraphic communication, of railroad and water transportation and travel should be reduced to the lowest practicable point, by force of laws wisely and justly framed."

1872.—"That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of color, race, former social condition, sex, or nationality."

1876.—"The abolition of class legislation, and of special privileges in the Government."

1876.—"The appropriation of the public lands, in limited quantities, to actual settlers only."

1876.—"The suppression, by law, of lotteries, and gambling in gold, stocks, produce, and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries."

1876.—"The separation of the money of Government from all banking institutions. The National Government only should exercise the high prerogative of issuing paper money."

1882.—"The preservation of the public lands for homes for the people, and their division, in limited portions, to actual settlers only."

1882.—"The abolition of all monopolies, class legislation, and special privileges from Government, injurious to the equal rights of citizens."

1882.—"The control of railroad and other corporations to prevent abuses of power, and to protect the interests of labor and commerce."

1884.—"That the public lands should be held for homes for the people, and not bestowed as gifts to corporations, or sold in large tracts for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers."

1888.—"For prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to increase the cost of products of popular consumption."

1888.—"For the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce."

1888.—“That monopoly in land is a wrong to the people, and the public lands should be reserved to actual settlers.”

1888.—“That men and women should receive equal pay for equal work.”

1888.—“That no person should have the ballot in any State who is not a citizen of the United States.”

1888.—“That any form of license, taxation, or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; that any party that supports regulation, license, or taxation, enters into alliance with such traffic, and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare.”

For the full platform of the Prohibition Party in 1892, see Appendix, pages 108-9.

Prohibition Party Vote—Presidential.

The vote for Presidential candidates of the Prohibition Party in the several States, from 1872 to 1888, was as follows:

STATES.	1872. Black.	1876. Smith.	1880. Dow.	1884. St. John.	1888. Fisk.
Alabama.....	613	583
Arkansas.....	614
California.....	61*	2,960	5,761
Colorado.....	761	2,191
Connecticut.....	205	378	409	2,305	4,234
Delaware.....	64	400
Florida.....	72	417
Georgia.....	168	1,808
Illinois.....	141	443	12,074	21,695
Indiana.....	38	.....	3,028	9,931
Iowa.....	36	592	1,472	3,530
Kansas.....	110	25	4,495	6,779
Kentucky.....	818	258	3,139	5,225
Louisiana.....	323	100
Maine.....	98	2,160	2,691
Maryland.....	10	.....	2,827	4,767
Massachusetts.....	84	682	9,923	8,701
Michigan.....	1,271	767	942	18,403	20,942
Minnesota.....	144	236	4,034	15,316
Mississippi.....	218
Missouri.....	64	.....	2,153	4,539
Nebraska.....	1,599	.....	2,899	9,429
Nevada.....	41
New Hampshire.....	200	.....	180	1,570	1,594
New Jersey.....	43	191	6,153	7,939
New York.....	201	2,329	1,517	24,999	30,231
North Carolina.....	454	2,787
Ohio.....	2,100	1,636	2,616	11,069	24,556
Oregon.....	492	1,677
Pennsylvania.....	1,630	1,319	1,939	15,283	20,947
Rhode Island.....	68	20	928	1,251
South Carolina.....
Tennessee.....	43	1,131	5,969
Texas.....	3,534	4,749
Vermont.....	1,752	1,400
Virginia.....	138	1,622
West Virginia.....	989	1,064
Wisconsin.....	153	69	7,656	14,277
Total.....	5,607	9,737	10,366	150,626	249,945

* These 61 votes cast in California in 1880 were returned as “scattering,” as they were mostly, if not all, for Neal Dow.

Prohibition Party Vote—"Off Years."

The vote for candidates of the Prohibition Party in general State elections, of a national character from their occurring in years (other than Presidential) when Congressmen were to be elected, have been as follows:

STATES.	1874.	1878.	1882.	1886.	1890.
Alabama.....				766	1,380
Arkansas.....					
California.....			5,772	6,432	10,073
Colorado.....				8,597*	1,089*
Connecticut.....	4,900	1,079	1,034	4,699	8,413
Delaware.....				7,835	250
Florida.....				243*	
Georgia.....					
Illinois.....	518	2,228	11,344	19,766	22,306
Indiana.....				9,185	12,106
Iowa.....				518	1,646
Kansas.....	2,277			8,004	1,230
Kentucky.....			4,392		4,340
Louisiana.....					
Maine.....			387	3,873	2,961
Maryland.....				7,195	3,927
Massachusetts.....		1,913	2,137	8,251	13,554
Michigan.....	3,937	3,469	5,854	25,179	28,651
Minnesota.....				8,966	8,424
Mississippi.....					
Missouri.....				3,504	988
Montana.....					389*
Nebraska.....	1,346			8,175	3,676
Nevada.....					
New Hampshire.....	2,100	85	345	2,137	1,375
New Jersey.....			2,004*	19,808	8,425*
New York.....	11,768	4,294	25,783	36,437	33,621
North Carolina.....				4,107†	
Ohio.....	7,815	5,682	12,202	28,982	23,837
Oregon.....				2,753*	2,856*
Pennsylvania.....	4,632	3,759	5,196	32,458	16,108
Rhode Island.....				2,585	1,820
Tennessee.....					11,062
Texas.....				19,186	1,986
Vermont.....				1,541	1,161
Virginia.....					2,126*
Washington.....					2,819*
West Virginia.....				1,492	696
Wisconsin.....			13,800*	17,089	11,246
Total.....	39,351	22,509	90,250	294,863	239,783

* Aggregate on Congressmen.

† Aggregate on members of the legislature.

The above figures for each State are for the principal State officer if there was a State ticket in the field; otherwise the aggregate vote for Congressional candidates, or members of the legislature.

A fuller analysis of the vote of the Prohibition Party will be found in the "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition" (pp. 553-580).

Prohibition Party's Presidential Candidates.

The following are brief sketches of the various men who have stood as the National Prohibition Party's candidates for the Presidency and for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. For the material, the author is indebted to the "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition," except in the case of the candidates of 1892, of whom more extended biographical sketches will be found in the *Voice* of July 7, 1892.

JAMES BLACK.—First Presidential candidate. Born in Lewisburg, Pa., Sept. 23, 1828. Removed to Lancaster, Pa., in 1836. Entered Lewisburg Academy in 1841. Admitted to the bar in 1846. Joined the Washingtonians in 1840. Chairman in 1852 of the Lancaster County Prohibition Committee, organized by a convention of men determined to secure a State prohibitory law like that of Maine. Permanent Chairman of the National Prohibition Convention at Chicago in 1869, which organized the party. Nominated for President by the National Convention at Columbus in 1872. Chairman of the Prohibition National Committee from 1876 to 1880. One of the founders of the National Temperance and Publication Society, and chairman of the committee that secured the capital as a basis for that enterprise. Grand Worthy Chief Templar of the Pennsylvania Good Templars, 1858 to 1862. Author of "Is there a necessity for a Prohibition Party?" (1875), "History of the Prohibition Party" (1885), etc.

JOHN RUSSELL.—First Vice-Presidential candidate. Born in Livingston County, N. Y., Sept. 20, 1822. Moved to Michigan in 1838. Became a minister in the Detroit Conference of the M. E. Church at the age of 21. Delegate to General Conference in 1860 and 1880. Wrote, as Chairman of the Temperance Committee, the language still included in the Discipline: "Voluntary total abstinence from all intoxicants as the true ground of temperance and complete legal Prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating drinks as the duty of civil government." Delegate to second Ecumenical Methodist Conference held in New York in 1891. For twelve years at the head of the Good Templars of Michigan. For two years at the head of the world-wide order. Known as the "Father of the Prohibition Party." Published the first newspaper (the *Penninsular Herald*) that advocated the formation of a separate political party. Wrote the reports on "political action" four consecutive years, beginning with 1867, adopted by the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars.

GREEN CLAY SMITH.—Second Presidential candidate. Born in Richmond, Ky., July 2, 1832. Son of John Speed Smith, an aide-de-camp of Gen. William Henry Harrison in the war of 1812, and a member of Congress from Kentucky. Served in the Mexican War. Graduated at Transylvania University. Democrat in politics before the Civil War, but when the war broke out enlisted in the Union Army as a private, though secession sentiment ran high in Covington, where he lived, at the time. Rapidly promoted until he was Brigadier-General. He was elected to Congress in 1863. Was a warm friend of Lincoln's.

GIDEON T. STEWART.—Second Vice-Presidential candidate. Born at Johnstown, N. Y., Aug. 7, 1824. Removed to Oberlin, Ohio, when 13 years old. Educated at Oberlin College. Studied law at Columbus, Ohio, and commenced to practice at Norwalk, Ohio, in 1846. Engaged chiefly in newspaper work for the next twenty years. Editor of the *Norwalk Reflector* and *Dubuque (Ia.) Daily Times*. One of the proprietors and publishers of the *Toledo Blade and Commercial*. Opposed slavery and was active in the Whig and Republican parties. Helped organize the Norwalk Division of Sons of Temperance in 1847. Three times chosen the chief of the Order of Good Templars in Ohio. In 1853, during the Maine law campaign, he attempted to form a permanent Prohibition party, and in 1857 was Chairman of a State Convention held at Columbus with a view to establishing such a party. Active in the organization of the new party in 1869. Has been Prohibition candidate for Governor of Ohio three times; candidate for Circuit Judge eight times; Chairman four years and a member for fifteen years of the National Committee. Nominated for the Vice-Presidency in 1876. Indorsed for the Presidency by the Ohio Prohibition Conventions of 1876, 1880 and 1884, but refused to allow his name to be presented to the National Conventions. Received 184 votes for the Presidential nomination in 1892. He is now (1892) engaged in the practice of law in Norwalk, Ohio.

NEAL DOW.—Third Presidential candidate. Born in Portland, Me., March 10, 1804. Father and mother were Quakers. Educated in the Portland public schools, the Academy at Portland and the Friends' Academy at New Bed-

ford, Mass. Known as "Father of the Maine Law." Determined to arouse a public sentiment that should outlaw the drink traffic in Maine, and devoted many years to canvassing the State. Maine's Prohibitory act of 1846 was the first fruits of these efforts. The measure was not very effective. A legislature pledged to Prohibition was finally chosen. Dow drafted a more effective bill, which was passed by a vote of 85 to 40 in the House and 18 to 10 in the Senate. Governor Hubbard, a Democrat, signed it June 2, 1851. As Mayor of Portland, Mr. Dow announced that the law would be enforced, and issued a proclamation allowing liquor dealers a reasonable time to transport their goods to other States. In a short time Portland saloons ceased to exist. Dow prepared quarterly reports on the workings of Prohibition, containing proofs of enforcement of law. In 1861 he recruited a regiment, the Thirteenth Maine Volunteers, and entered the army. He was made a Brigadier-General by President Lincoln in April, 1862, and was twice wounded in battle. Visited England three times, delivering about 500 addresses under the United Kingdom Alliance. Candidate for President in 1880.

H. A. THOMPSON.—Third Vice-Presidential candidate. Born in Center county, Pa., March 23, 1837. Graduated at Jefferson College, 1858. Elected President of Otterbein University, Westerville, Ohio, 1872, having been for several years previous professor of Mathematics in that institution. Candidate for Congress on the Prohibition ticket (from eighth district of Ohio) in 1874, for Lieutenant-Governor in 1875, for Governor in 1877. Chairman of Prohibition National Convention of 1876. Chairman of Ohio State Committee for several years.

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.—Fourth Presidential candidate. Born at Brookville, Ind., Feb. 25, 1833. Went to California in 1852. Made voyages to Mexico, South America and Sandwich Islands. Took part in Indian Wars in California and Oregon. Moved to Illinois in 1859. At Charleston, Ill., he was prosecuted under "Black Laws" for assisting a fugitive negro boy, plead guilty, and was acquitted. Admitted to the bar in 1862. Joined the Union Army about the same time and served as Captain, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. Practiced law in Independence, Mo., 1864 to 1868. Moved in 1869 to Olathe, Kans., where he still lives. Elected State Senator in 1872, Governor in 1873 and 1890. At his second election he was thoroughly committed to Prohibition, the Constitutional Amendment being submitted that year. Defeated in 1882 through opposition to "third term" and antagonism of liquor element.* Left the Republican party because the Convention of 1884 refused to express sympathy for Prohibition. Nominated the same year for President by Prohibition party. Was subjected to the most malignant abuse but came out of the contest unscathed.† Since 1884 Mr. St. John has spent most of his time on the platform advocating the Prohibition Party. He is a warm sympathizer with woman suffrage, and with radical anti-tariff and anti-monopoly sentiment.

WILLIAM DANIEL.—Fourth Vice-Presidential candidate. Born on Deal's Island, Md., Jan. 24, 1826. Graduated from Dickinson College, 1848. Admitted to the practice of law in 1851. Elected to Maryland House of Delegates in 1853 and in 1855. Introduced a Prohibition law similar to that of Maine, but it failed to pass. Elected in 1857 to State Senate. Member of the

* St. John in 1878 received 74,020 votes for Governor, against 37,208 for Goodin (Dem.), and 27,057 for Mitchell (Gbk.); in 1880, 115,204, against 63,557 for Ross (Dem.), and 19,477 for Vrooman (Gbk.); in 1882, 73,158, against 83,237 for Glick (Dem.), and 20,938 for Robinson (Gbk.). Dr. Daniel Dorchester, a Republican and a Federal office-holder under President Harrison, says ("Liquor Problem in all Ages," p. 419): "Opposition to a third term, some local personal dissatisfaction, and the inability of the politicians to use Governor St. John for personal ends, caused his defeat" for the Governorship in 1882.

† The charge made by the Republican press in 1884 that St. John "sold out to the Democrats" had its only foundation in the fact that J. S. Clarkson of the Republican National Committee was approached by a renegade politician named Legate, who claimed he had authority from St. John to negotiate with the Republican National Committee for St. John's support. Clarkson made an attempt through Legate, who proved to be a fraud, to bribe St. John to support Blaine, and justified himself for that attempt in an interview in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* (Rep.), Jan. 13, 1885, in the following language: "I felt it would be right, if I could do so, to relieve both the Republican party and the true cause of temperance of his [St. John's] candidacy. I had no doubt it would be right to defeat the Democratic party by the use of this false and treacherous means if it could be done. I have no concealment to make as to my belief that St. John was an element in the campaign to be got rid of altogether, or at least to be controlled by the Republicans if he were going to help either side." Because St. John was not for sale to the Republicans Clarkson's inference was that he must have sold out to the Democrats.

State Constitutional Convention of 1864, which emancipated Maryland's slaves, which measure he strongly advocated. Was a Whig, later a Republican. President from 1872 to 1884 of Maryland State Temperance Alliance, through the influence of which a Local Option law was passed. Headed the Maryland delegation to the Prohibition National Convention at Pittsburgh in 1884. Temporary chairman of that convention, and its nominee for Vice-President. State Chairman of Maryland Prohibition Party, 1885 to 1888. Has been active in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

CLINTON B. FISK.—Fifth Presidential candidate. Born at Griggsville, N. Y., Dec. 8, 1828. Died in New York City, July 9, 1890. Was obliged to leave Wesleyan Seminary, Albion, Mich., on account of failing eyesight. Began business life with L. D. Crippen, a merchant and banker, at Coldwater, Mich. Married Mr. Crippen's daughter in 1850. Removed to St. Louis, Mo., in 1858. Enlisted as a private at the outbreak of the Civil War. Commissioned Brigadier-General in 1862, and Major-General of the Missouri militia in 1865. From 1866 until his death he was engaged in railroad management and banking. Treasurer for eight years of the Missouri and Pacific Railroad Company. Was in early life a devoted Abolitionist, and played a part in the "Underground Railroad" enterprise. Republican up to 1884. Appointed by President Grant member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was immediately elected President of that Board, in which capacity he served until his death. Prohibition candidate for Governor of New Jersey in 1886, and for President of the United States in 1888. Prominent in the Methodist Episcopal Church. President of East Tennessee Land Company, which founded the Prohibition town of Harriman.

JOHN A. BROOKS.—Fifth Vice-Presidential candidate. Born in Germantown, Ky., June 3, 1836. Graduated at Bethany College, 1856. Minister of the Christian, or Disciple Church. President for two years of the college at Flemingsburg, Ky. Sympathized with the South during the war. Has filled pastorates at Winchester, Ky., and at St. Louis, Mexico, Warrensburg, Bolton and Kansas City, Mo. President from 1880 to 1884 of the Missouri Prohibition Alliance. Independent Prohibition candidate for Governor of Missouri in 1884, receiving 10,426 votes.

JOHN BIDWELL.—Sixth Presidential Candidate. Born in Chautauque county, N. Y., Aug. 5, 1819. Removed to Erie, Pa., in 1829, and to Iowa in 1839, thence to Missouri, thence to Kansas. Went with the first party of white men to California by way of the Sierras. Member of the first Constitutional Convention in 1849, and of the first Senate of that State, the same year. Member of Charleston Democratic Convention in 1860, the only California member who remained loyal to the Union. Commander Fifth Brigade California Militia from 1861 to 1865. Delegate in 1864 to the National Republican Convention. Elected the same year to the Thirty-ninth Congress, and was chairman of the Committee on Agriculture. Nominated for Governor in 1875 on an anti-monopoly ticket, and received over 30,000 votes. Member of Anti-Chinese Convention at Sacramento in 1885, and stood uncompromisingly in favor of maintaining the laws and treaties of the United States. Prohibition candidate for Governor of California in 1890, receiving the endorsement of the American Party. Was engaged at one time in wine-raising; but, being convinced that, instead of pure wines being conducive to temperance, as he had supposed, they were in reality making drunkards, he dug up his wine-grape vines, gave his best wines to a San Francisco hospital for medicinal use, made vinegar of the poorest, and went out of the business forever.

JAMES B. CRANFILL.—Sixth Vice-Presidential candidate. Born in Parker County, Texas, Sept. 12, 1859. Raised on a farm. Married at 20. Studied medicine and practiced at Turnerville, Texas. In August, 1886, he called the first Prohibition Party Convention of Texas, which met Sept. 7, 1886, and nominated a ticket which polled 19,186 votes. Edited the *Gatesville, Tex. Advance*, which moved to Waco in 1887. Elected superintendent of Baptist Mission work in Texas, 1889. Ordained a minister of the Baptist Church, 1890. Associate editor of the *Texas Baptist Standard*. Member from Texas of the National Prohibition Committee.

National Prohibition Convention of 1892.

The National Convention of the Prohibition Party met in Cincinnati, Ohio, June 29 and 30, and July 1, 1892. The vote on candidates for President on the first ballot stood: Bidwell, 583; Demorest, 142; Stewart, 184; Bascom, 3. The vote on candidates for Vice-president stood: Cranfill, 416; Levering, 356; Satterlee, 26; Carskadon, 2.

Newspapers that Support the Prohibition Party.

It is exceedingly difficult to draw the line between papers that advocate Prohibition in a non-partisan way, and those that advocate the Prohibition Party method. The former would include nearly all the religious papers, and many Republican and Democratic papers, and to compile a list of such papers, that would be anywhere near complete, would be practically impossible. In the following list, the aim has been to draw the line distinctly on the support of the Prohibition Party. A few of the papers are merely local newspapers that do not devote much space to political discussion or news; but such favor the Prohibition Party when they do speak, and are included in the list. In each case, the publisher of the paper was written to and asked to give the information desired. In most cases the publisher replied, and his statement is used. In cases where the publisher failed to reply (*), reference was made to N. W. Ayer's Newspaper Annual for 1891, and the statistics taken from that source. A few of the new papers, not being in the Annual, cannot be described. A few others which are in the Annual, but did not reply, may be discontinued, but they were omitted if such was known to be the fact. The list, as obtained by the above method, is as follows:

NAME OF PAPER AND PLACE OF PUBLICATION.	Year established.	No and size of pages.	Price per year.	Circulation.
<i>Voice</i> , Los Angeles, Cal.	1884	4: 18x24	\$1.00	2,000
<i>The Facts</i> , Redlands, Cal.	1890	4: 18x24	1.00	1,500
<i>Pacific Ensign</i> , San Francisco, Cal..	1891	8: 10x14	1.00	2,500
<i>Prohibitionist</i> , San Jose, Cal.	1884	4: 18x22	1.00	2,200
<i>Bulletin</i> ,† Denver, Col.	1892	.....	.....	.....
<i>New England Home</i> , Hartford, Conn.	1886	8: 15x22	1.00	8,500
<i>Review</i> , Groton, Conn.	1888	8: 13x20	75	900
<i>Banner</i> , Highland Park, Conn.	1889	4: 11x15	25	.....
<i>Mid-Florida Herald</i> , Midland, Fla..	1892	12: 6x 9	.40	300
<i>Southern Star</i> , Atlanta, Ga.	1887	8: 15x22	75	15,000
<i>Southern Agent</i> (m.), Atlanta, Ga...	1884	4: 17x24	25	25,000
<i>Times</i> , Demorest, Ga.	1890	4: 25x38	1.00	2,000
<i>Lancel</i> , Bloomington, Ill.	1886	4: 15x24	1.00	900
<i>Advance</i> , Bunker Hill, Ill.	1888	8: 15x22	1.50	900
<i>Lever</i> , Chicago, Ill.	1878	8: 18x24	1.00	15,000
<i>Union Signal</i> * Chicago, Ill.	1874	16: 10x15	1.50	84,000
<i>State Sentinel</i> , Decatur, Ill.	1876	4: 15x22	1.00	2,000
<i>Friend of Home</i> , Effingham, Ill.	1885	4: 13x20	50	1,000
<i>Patrol</i> , Geneva, Ill.	1884	8: 11x15	1.00	2,000
<i>News</i> , Joliet, Ill.	1877	8: 17x22	1.00	3,000
<i>Truth</i> , Monmouth, Ill.	1892	4: 14x20	1.00	700
<i>Spectator</i> , Oquagua, Ill.	1848	4: 17x24	1.50	300
<i>Patricl</i> , Quincy, Ill.	1888	4: 18x24	1.00	1,600
<i>Monitor</i> , Rockford, Ill.	1885	8: 15x22	1.00	1,800
<i>Best Words</i> , Shelbyville, Ill.	1887	8: 13x20	1.25	1,100
<i>Liberator</i> , Springfield, Ill.	1887	4: 10x26	1.00	2,000
<i>Journal</i> ,* Vienna, Ill.	1874	4: 17x24	1.00	804
<i>Crystallizer</i> , Goshen, Ind.	1888	4: 15x22	1.00	700
<i>Phalanx</i> , Indianapolis, Ind.	1885	8: 15x22	1.00	7,000
<i>Organizer</i> , Indianapolis, Ind.	1882	16: 10x13	75	3,500
<i>Standard</i> ,* Leesburg, Ind.	1888	8: 15x22	1.00	.....
<i>Times</i> , Logansport, Ind.	1886	8: 15x22	1.00	1,500

NEWSPAPERS THAT SUPPORT THE PROHIBITION PARTY.—Continued.

NAME OF PAPER AND PLACE OF PUBLICATION.	Year estab-lished.	No. and size of pages.	Price per year.	Circulation
<i>Home</i> (m.), New Albany, Ind.....	1889	6: 11x16	50	2,500
<i>Prohibition Era</i> , Princeton, Ind.....	1887	4: 18x24	1.00	1,600
<i>Enterprise</i> , Richmond, Ind.....	1890	8: 15x22	1.00	1,600
<i>Northwestern News</i> , Davenport, Ia..	1878	4: 20x26	2.00	10,000
<i>News</i> (d), Des Moines, Ia.....	1881	4: 18x23	4.00	5,500
<i>News</i> (w'kly), Des Moines, Ia.....	1881	8: 18x23	1.00	4,500
<i>Prohibitionist</i> , Des Moines, Ia.....	1890	8: 13x20	1.00	1,200
<i>Advance</i> (m.), Mt. Ayr, Ia.....	1890	4: 6x 9	25	400
<i>Champ'n of Progress</i> , Sioux City, Ia..	1890	8: 16x22	1.25	3,000
<i>Voter</i> , Cedar Rapids, Ia.....	1892	4: 10x15	50	.....
<i>Lever</i> , Ottawa, Kan.....	1887	8: 13x20	1.00	1,700
<i>Star</i> , Richfield, Kan.....	1887	4: 17x24	1.50	250
<i>Worker</i> , Lexington, Ky.....	1887	4: 15x22	1.50	1,500
<i>Journal</i> , Louisville, Ky.....	1885	8: 13x20	1.00	3,000
<i>Kentucky Methodist</i> , Louisville, Ky..	1888	8: 13x19	1.00	3,000
<i>Herald</i> , Portland, Me.....	1884	8: 15x22	1.00	2,400
<i>Sun</i> , Portland, Me.....	1892	8: 15x22	1.00	2,400
<i>Advocate</i> , Baltimore, Md.....	1898	8: 15x22	1.00	3,000
<i>Campaign</i> (m.), Lowell, Mass.....	1890	8: 13x20	30	.....
<i>Messenger</i> ,* Adrian, Mich.....	1890	4: 18x24	1.00	3,000
<i>Argus</i> ,* Edwardsburg, Mich.....	1874	4: 18x24	1.50	500
<i>Saturday Night</i> , Grand Rapids, Mich.	1891	4: 15x22	1.00	.....
<i>Svenska Amerikanska Posten</i> , Min- neapolis, Minn.....	1883	12: 18x24	1.00	23,000
<i>Leader</i> , Minneapolis, Minn.....	1892	4: 17x24	1.00	5,000
<i>Leader</i> , Jackson, Miss.....	1892	4: 17x24	1.00	.....
<i>New Issue</i> , Bozeman, Mont.....	1890	4: 20x26	2.00	1,250
<i>Herald</i> , Chester, Neb.....	1885	8: 13x20	1.50	300
<i>New Republic</i> , Lincoln, Neb.....	1885	4: 18x24	1.00	3,000
<i>Looking Glass</i> , Montrose, Neb.....	1889	4: 13x20	1.00	400
<i>Tribune</i> , Neligh, Neb.....	1879	4: 17x24	1.50	500
<i>Guide</i> , Superior, Neb.....	1879	8: 15x22	1.00	600
<i>Courier</i> , Central City, Neb.....	1879	8: 15x22	1.50	600
<i>Narrative</i> (m.), Claremont, N. H.....	1875	4: 11x18	50	.....
<i>Temperance Gazette</i> , Camden, N. J..	1869	4: 20x26	1.00	3,200
<i>Visitor</i> , Flemington, N. J.....	1883	8: 15x22	1.25	1,700
<i>Journal</i> , Dover, N. J.....	1890	8: 15x22	1.00	2,000
<i>Signal</i> (t.), Sparta, N. J.....	1885	8: 13x20	50	.....
<i>Outlook</i> , Vineland, N. J.....	1892	4: 16x22	1.00	.....
<i>Live Issues</i> ,† Newark, N. J.....	1892	.....	.....	.....
<i>Home Advocate</i> , Dundee, N. Y.....	1890	8: 13x20	1.00	2,500
<i>Star</i> , Machias, N. Y.....	1885	8: 15x22	1.50	1,500
<i>Farmer-Pioneer</i> , New York, N. Y.....	1884	8: 11x14	50	10,000
<i>Voice</i> ,† New York, N. Y.....	1884	8: 16x22	1.00	100,000
<i>Witness</i> , New York, N. Y.....	1871	8: 18x24	1.00	56,000
<i>Advance</i> , Sherman, N. Y.....	1899	8: 13x20	1.00	1,100
<i>Delaware Standard</i> , Walton, N. Y.....	1888	4: 19x26	1.00	1,300
<i>Advocate</i> , Watertown, N. Y.....	1884	4: 18x24	1.25	1,100
<i>Times</i> , Canisteo, N. Y.....	1892	8: 15x22	1.00	1,100
<i>Post</i> , Belmont, N. Y.....	1890	4: 19x26	1.00	.....
<i>People's Record</i> , Newburg, N. Y.....	1892	4: 12x16	.24	2,000
<i>News and Banner</i> , Rome, N. Y.....	1890	8: 16x22	.....	.....
<i>Living Issue</i> , High Point, N. C.....	1891	4: 17x22	1.00	1,000
<i>Times</i> ,* Reidsville, N. C.....	1876	4: 17x24	1.00	500
<i>Normanden</i> ,‡ Grand Forks, N. D.....	1887	8: 18x24	1.50	7,100
<i>Dakotan</i> (m.), Jamestown, N. D.....	1892	4: 14x20	50	5,000
<i>Benson Co. News</i> , Leeds, N. D.....	1889	4: 16x22	1.50	240
<i>Flambeau</i> , Cadiz, Ohio.....	1887	8: 13x18	1.00	800

NEWSPAPERS THAT SUPPORT THE PROHIBITION PARTY.—Continued.

NAME OF PAPER AND PLACE OF PUBLICATION.	Year established.	No. and size of pages.	Price per year.	Circulation.
<i>Liberator</i> , Dayton, Ohio.....	1891	8: 15x22	1.00	3,500
<i>Transcript</i> , Greenville, Ohio.....	1891	8: 17x24	1.00	.....
<i>Vigilant</i> , London, Ohio.....	1886	4: 20x26	1.00	1,800
<i>Beacon</i> ,* Springfield, Ohio.....	1886	4: 15x22	.25	25,500
<i>New Era</i> ,* Springfield, Ohio.....	1873	8: 15x22	1.00	14,700
<i>Sentinel</i> , Toledo, Ohio.....	1886	4: 18x22	1.00	1,000
<i>Herald</i> , Wooster, Ohio.....	1878	8: 15x22	1.50	1,200
<i>Sun</i> , Ashland, Ohio.....	1885	4: 13x20	.25	500
<i>Times</i> , Parkersburg, Pa.....	1874	8: 15x22	1.00	.....
<i>Keystone</i> , Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1892	4: 15x22	1.00	2,000
<i>People</i> ,* Scranton, Pa.....	1887	4: 18x24	1.00	4,800
<i>Walchfire</i> , Wilkesbarre, Pa.....	1885	4: 17x24	1.50	.....
<i>Sunbeam</i> (m.), Milton, Pa.....	1892	4: 6x 9	.10	.....
<i>Prohibitionist</i> (f),* Chester, Pa.....	1892	.....	.....	.....
<i>Archive</i> , Downingtown, Pa.....	1873	4: 17x24	1.00	.....
<i>Prohibitionist</i> , Letity, Pa.....	1886	4: 18x24	.25	.....
<i>Griffin's Journal</i> , Philadelphia, Pa..	1873	4: 14x20	.50	.....
<i>Educator</i> , Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1885	4: 11x16	.25	6,000
<i>National Issue</i> , Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1884	4: 17x24	1.00	.....
<i>Index</i> , Williamsport, Pa.....	1892	4: 6x 9	.10	2,000
<i>Citizen</i> *, Providence, R. I.....	1887	8: 15x22	1.00	.....
<i>Tribune</i> (d.), Westerly, R. I.;.....	1884	4: 17x22	3.00	8,600
<i>Public Opinion</i> ,* Chester, S. C.....	1891	4: 13x20	1.50	.....
<i>Beacon</i> , Plankinton, S. D.....	1885	8: 15x22	1.00	600
<i>Advance</i> (d.), Harriman, Tenn.....	1890	4: 15x22	5.00	.....
<i>Advance</i> (w.), Harriman, Tenn.....	1890	8: 15x22	1.50	2,000
<i>Issue</i> , Nashville, Tenn.....	1885	8: 31x44	1.00	8,000
<i>National Reformer</i> ,* Houston, Tex..	1874	8: 11x15	1.50	.....
<i>Advance</i> , Waco and Houston, Tex..	1892	4: 11x15	3.00	.....
<i>Herald</i> (m.), Montpelier, Vt.....	1891	8: 15x22	.50	1,250
<i>Anti-Liquor</i> , Danville, Va.....	1891	4: 18x24	1.00	2,500
<i>Issue</i> ,† Seattle, Wash.....	1892	.....	.....	.....
<i>Quest</i> , Wheeling, W. Va.....	1890	4: 17x24	1.00	1,900
<i>Eye and Star</i> , Dodgeville, Wis.....	1886	4: 14x24	1.00	600
<i>Reform</i> ,‡ Eau Claire, Wis.....	1886	8: 15x22	1.00	3,100
<i>Blade</i> , Elkhorn, Wis.....	1891	8: 15x22	1.50	600
<i>Wave</i> ,* Independence, Wis.....	1888	8: 13x20	1.00	1,500
<i>Northwestern Mail</i> , Madison, Wis..	1883	4: 20x26	1.00	4,500
<i>Herald</i> ,* Menominee, Wis.....	1887	4: 13x20	.75	1,000
<i>Voice</i> , New Richmond, Wis.....	1886	4: 20x26	1.50	600
<i>Signal</i> ,* Oshkosh, Wis.....	1884	8: 15x22	1.25	1,800
<i>Enterprise</i> , Palmyra, Wis.....	1874	4: 18.20	1.50	400
<i>Campaigner</i> ,‡ Madison, Wis.....	1892	.....	.....	.....

m. Monthly. d. Daily. f. Fortnightly. Where no letter is used it will be understood that the paper is weekly.

* No response being made by the publishers to the request for information, the figures are taken from N. W. Ayer's Newspaper Annual for 1891. It is possible that a few papers are included that are not now running.

† The average circulation of the *Voice* is over 100,000.

‡ New paper.

§ Norwegian.

The foregoing list, substantially, was published in the *Voice* of June 30, 1892, with the request that any person noticing any errors or omissions communicate with the author. Several corrections and additions were received, and the information embodied in the table. In three or four cases papers were referred to as omitted, without any

information as to price, circulation, etc. In such cases, if the paper was not in any of the newspaper annuals, it has been omitted, there not being time for correspondence. The author is satisfied that no Prohibition Party paper of any considerable prominence has been omitted from the list.

Books Relating to the Drink Problem.

It is not possible to give, in such a work as this, a complete list of the books bearing on the liquor question. The aim is merely to suggest a few, with a brief description of the general character and scope of each, for the guidance of those who desire to post themselves on the various phases of this question. The books referred to are believed to be standard and reliable authorities.

CYCLOPEDIA OF TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION. \$3.50, cloth-bound, 671 pages, 8½ x 10 inches. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1891. "A reference book of facts, statistics and general information on all phases of the drink question, the temperance movement, and the Prohibition agitation." Subjects arranged alphabetically, and complete reference index at the end.

ECONOMICS OF PROHIBITION. By James C. Fernald. \$1.25, cloth-bound, 515 pages, 5 x 7½ inches. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. A discussion of the economic phases of the drink traffic, with various statistical tables, and estimates of the losses sustained in various ways by community through the traffic. Reference index.

PROHIBITION, THE PRINCIPLE, THE POLICY AND THE PARTY. By E. J. Wheeler. 75 cents, cloth; 25 cents, paper, 227 pages, 5 x 7½ inches. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1889. "A dispassionate study of the arguments for and against Prohibitory law, and the reasons governing the political actions of its advocates."

ALCOHOL AND THE STATE. By Robert C. Pitman. \$1.50, cloth; 50 cents, paper; 411 pages, 4¾ x 7½ inches. National Temperance Society and Publication House, New York, 1886. A discussion of the problem of law as applied to the liquor traffic, by a former Associate Judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT; OR, THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MAN AND ALCOHOL. By Henry W. Blair. \$2.75, cloth, 588 pages, 6 x 9¼ inches. Sold by subscription. William E. Smythe & Co., Boston, 1888. The work "attempts to place clearly before the mind the nature of alcohol as a poison to the healthy human system; its destructive effects upon the body and soul of its victim; to portray its tremendous proportions and malignant influence upon society, nations and races of men."

THE FOUNDATION OF DEATH. By Axel Gustafson. \$1.50, cloth, 599 pages, 5 x 7½ inches. Funk & Wagnalls, New York. A study of the drink question chiefly from the physiological standpoint. Complete index and marginal references. Contains an excellent bibliography of about 60 pages.

TEN LECTURES ON ALCOHOL. By Benjamin Ward Richardson, M.D., F.R.S. \$1.50, cloth; 50 cents, paper; 372 pages, 5 x 7½ inches. National Temperance Society, New York, 1887. A course of six lectures delivered before the Society of Arts.

ALCOHOL INSIDE OUT. By Ellisha Chenery, M.D. \$1.50, cloth, 340 pages, 4 x 7½ inches. Records, McMullen & Co., Philadelphia, 1889. "Facts for millions." Gives the Physiological effects of Alcohol, in language that can be understood by the lay reader. Reference index.

INEBRIETY. By Norman Kerr. \$3.00, cloth, 571 pages, 4¾ x 7½ inches. I. K. Lewis, London, 1889. Discusses the etiology, pathology, treatment and jurisprudence of Inebriety. Marginal references and subject index.

OUR WASTED RESOURCES, AND WORSE THAN WASTED. By William Hargreaves, M.D. \$1.25, cloth, 300 pages, 5 x 7 inches. National Temperance Society, New York, 1887. Is really two books bound in one. A thorough economic discussion of the liquor traffic, its cost, etc.

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN ALL AGES. By Daniel Dorchester, D.D. \$2.50, cloth, 556 pages, 5¼ x 8½ inches. Hunt & Eaton, New York, 1884. A historical discussion of the liquor problem in all times and in all countries. Reference index.

KING ALCOHOL IN THE REALM OF KING COTTON. By Professor H. A. Secomp, introduction by Atticus G. Haygood, D.D. \$2.50, 823 pages, 6¼ x 9 inches. Published by the author, Oxford, Ga., 1888. A history of the liquor traffic and of the temperance movement in Georgia from 1733 to 1887.

THE DIVINE LAW AS TO WINES. By Dr. G. W. Samson. \$1.50, cloth, 613 pages, 5 x 7¼ inches. J. B. Lippincott & Co., New York, 1885. "Testimony against the use of fermented and intoxicating wines, confirmed by Egyptian, Greek and Roman methods of preparing wines for festal, medicinal and sacramental uses." Reference index.

MEMORIES OF THE CRUSADE. By Mother Stewart. \$2.00, cloth, 535 pages, 5 x 8 inches. William G. Hubbard & Co., Columbus, Ohio. A thrilling account of the great uprising of the women of Ohio in 1873 against the liquor crime, by the leader of the movement. Sold by subscription.

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS. By Walter Thomas Mills. \$1.00, cloth; 50 cents, paper; 204 pages, 5 x 7¼ inches. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1887. A thorough discussion of the fundamental principles underlying our American system of politics, not specially Prohibition, though it does not avoid that question.

FREE RUM ON THE CONGO. By W. T. Hornaday. 75 cents, cloth; 25 cents, paper; 145 pages, 5 x 7 inches. Woman's Temperance Publication Association, Chicago, 1887. A graphic description of what rum is doing in Africa.

PROHIBITION BELLS AND SONGS OF THE NEW CRUSADE. Also, **THE CLARION CALL.** Compiled by the Silver Lake Quartette. The first-named contains 100 songs, the last-named, 134 songs; in each case with music. Price of either volume, 20 cents, paper; or 30 cents, boards. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

CAMPAIGN TEXT-BOOK. 25 cents, paper, 96 pages, 5 x 7¼ inches. National Prohibition Committee, New York City, 1892. Portraits and sketches of candidates Bidwell and Cranfill, letters of acceptance, platform, etc.

National Committee of the Prohibition Party.

The National Committee of the Prohibition Party consists of two members from each State. The names of the committee, so far as the places were filled by the delegations to the National Convention at Cincinnati, are as follows :

ALABAMA.—J. C. Orr, Hartsell; L. F. Whitten, Jasper.

ARKANSAS.—George C. Christian, Eureka Springs; _____.

CALIFORNIA.—Chauncey H. Dunn, Sacramento; Jesse Yarnell, Los Angeles.

COLORADO.—I. J. Keator, Pueblo; H. E. Singletary, Denver.

CONNECTICUT.—Allen B. Lincoln, Willimantic; Henry B. Brown, East Hampton.

DELAWARE.—C. H. Register, Smyrna; _____.

FLORIDA.—T. A. Duckworth, Orlando; _____.

GEORGIA.—Sam W. Small, Atlanta; Frank J. Sibley, Demorest.

IDAHO.—W. Thos. Smith, Idaho Falls; _____.

ILLINOIS.—Jas. B. Hobbs, Chicago; D. H. Harts, Lincoln.

INDIANA.—Helen M. Gougar, La Fayette; John Ratliff, Marion.

IOWA.—R. M. Dihel, Washington; S. A. Gilley, Marengo.

KANSAS.—John P. St. John, Olathe; M. V. B. Bennett, Columbus.

KENTUCKY.—J. W. Sawyer, Louisville; Rev. G. W. Young, Milledgeburg.

LOUISIANA.—_____.

MAINE.—N. F. Woodbury, Auburn; Volney B. Cushing, Bangor.

MARYLAND.—Levin S. Nelson, Bishopville; Edwin Higgins, Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS.—James H. Roberts, Cambridge; Aug. R. Smith, Lee.

MICHIGAN.—Albert Dodge, Grand Rapids; Samuel Dickie, Albion.

MINNESOTA.—W. J. Dean, Minneapolis; J. P. Pinkham, Minneapolis.

MISSISSIPPI.—J. McCaskill, Columbus; _____.

MISSOURI.—John A. Brooks, D.D., Kansas City; _____.

MONTANA.—E. M. Gardner, Bozeman; _____.

NEBRASKA.—Rev. C. E. Bentley, Norfolk; F. B. Wigton, Lincoln.

NEVADA.—E. W. Taylor, Reno; _____.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Rev. D. C. Babcock, Lancaster; Joshua M. Fletcher Nashua.

NEW JERSEY.—Robt. J. S. White, Montclair; W. H. Nicholson, Had-
donfield.

NEW YORK.—Wm. T. Wardwell, New York; H. Clay Bascom, Troy.

NORTH CAROLINA.—J. A. Stikeleather, Olin; T. P. Johnson, Salisbury.

NORTH DAKOTA.—E. E. Saunders, Jamestown; H. H. Mott, Grafton.

OHIO.—L. B. Logan, Alliance; Mrs. M. M. Brown, Cincinnati.

OREGON.—Mrs. N. S. Dygert, Portland; I. H. Amos, Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA.—A. A. Stevens, Tyrone; S. W. Murray, Milton.

RHODE ISLAND.—G. H. Slade, Providence; Thos. H. Peabody, Westerly.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—

SOUTH DAKOTA.—A. R. Cornwall, Aberdeen; Rev. H. H. Roser, Wa-
tertown.

TENNESSEE.—Jas. A. Tate, Fayetteville; A. D. Reynolds, Bristol.

TEXAS.—J. B. Cranfill, Waco; E. C. Heath, Rockwall.

VERMONT.—C. W. Wyman, Brattleboro; W. P. Stafford, St. Johnsbury.

VIRGINIA.—W. W. Gibbs, Staunton; J. W. Newton, Staunton.

WASHINGTON.—E. B. Sutton, Seattle; D. G. Strong, D. D., Walla Walla.

WEST VIRGINIA.—T. R. Carskadon, Keyser; Frank Burt, Mannington.

WISCONSIN.—S. D. Hastings, Madison; F. W. Chafin, Waukesha.

WYOMING.—O. S. Jackson; M. J. Wange, Laramie.

DIST. COLUMBIA.—H. B. Moulton, Washington; Samuel H. Walker,
Washington.

The National Executive Committee, with headquarters at 10 East
14th Street, New York City, consists of: Samuel Dickie, Chairman;
John P. St. John, Vice-Chairman; Wm. T. Wardwell, Secretary; S. D.
Hastings, Treasurer; Mrs. Helen M. Gougar, Prof. James A. Tate, A. A.
Stevens.



APPENDIX.

PARTY PLATFORMS OF 1892

AND

Qualification for Voting in the Different States.

The following are the National Platforms, in the order of their adoption, of the Republican, Democratic, Prohibition, and People's Parties. For facts in regard to the attitude of the Parties on Prohibition and other issues, see pages 70 to 85.

Republican Party's National Platform, Adopted at Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 9, 1892.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in General Convention on the shores of the Mississippi river, the everlasting bond of an indestructible Republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican Party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops, and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

(1) We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress. We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and on all imports coming in competition with the products of American labor there shall be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home. We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890. We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal, as is manifest by their attacks upon wool, lead, and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

(2) We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic Party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican Administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

(3) The American people from tradition and interest, favor bimetalism, and the Republican Party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers, and its workmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government, shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver to use as money throughout the world.

(4) We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elec

tions shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State. We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American Citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

(5) We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign Powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

(6) We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

(7) We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration.

(8) We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limb of employes of transportation companies engaged in carrying on inter-State commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employes engaged in State commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

(9) The Republican Party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

(10) The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of Church and State.

(11) We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily endorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

(12) We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages, and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Postoffice Department, and the highest class of postal service.

(13) We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican Party of the laws regulating the same.

(14) The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, but as a measure of national defense, and to build up and maintain American commerce, it should be controlled by the United States Government.

(15) We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

(16) We favor cession, subject to the homestead laws of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation, and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

(17) The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharging of the expense and obligations incident thereto and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

(18) We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

(19) Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

(20) We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American Administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation at home and abroad have been faithfully maintained; and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

Democratic Party's National Platform, adopted at Chicago, Illinois, June 23, 1892.

(1) The representatives of the Democratic Party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of nine of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government, through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free, popular Government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capitol has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

(2) We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections to which the Republican party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing a monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place, armed with Federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority; the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States; the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power and the reviving of race antagonisms now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all—a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate." Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office holders, and the party first intrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to resist oppression which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but in contempt of this verdict, the Republican Party has defiantly declared, in its latest authoritative utterance, that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

Believing that the preservation of Republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity; and we pledge the Democratic Party, if it be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure, which in the short space of two years has squandered an enormous surplus and emptied an overflowing treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

(3) We denounce Republican protection as a fraud—as a robbery of a great majority of the American people for the benefit of a few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect a dollar for tax except for purposes of revenue only, and demand that the collection of such taxes be imposed by the Government when only honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption; and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic Party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restricted taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over \$2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging \$165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and

tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

(4) Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchange by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a Custom House barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people.

(5) We recognize in the trusts and combinations which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade, but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

(6) The Republican Party, while professing a policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic Administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican Party, touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

(7) We denounce the Republican legislation, known as the Sherman act of 1890, as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic or exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts, and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

(8) We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

(9) Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican Convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic Party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

(10) The Democratic Party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our neighbors on the American Continent, whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster, which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defense, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

(11) This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience sake—and in the spirit of the founders of our Government we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use the prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation

of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar and to secure to the oppressed equal rights.

We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

(12) We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration or the importation of foreign workmen under contract, to degrade American labor and lessen its wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

(13) The convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows, and dependents, but we demand that the work of the Pension Office shall be done industriously, impartially, and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful, and dishonest.

(14) The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the Interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tidewater. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the Government, such aid should be extended on a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

(15) For purposes of national defense and the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

(16) Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the General Government has invited the co-operation of all powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation so extended, and the broad and liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

(17) Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic Party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children, as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

(18) We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union, as States of the Territories, of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the Government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bona fide* residents of the Territory or district in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic Party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

(19) We favor legislation by Congress and State Legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employes and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican Party, and particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

(20) We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor, and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

(21) We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

(22) Upon this statement of principles and policies, the Democratic Party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of Administration and a change of party in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance, unimpaired, of institutions under which the Republic has grown great and powerful.

Prohibition Party's National Platform, Adopted at Cincinnati, Ohio, June 30, 1892.

The Prohibition Party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all true government, and His law as the standard to which human enactments must conform to secure the blessings of peace and prosperity, presents the following declaration of principles:

(1) The liquor traffic is a foe to civilization, the arch enemy of popular government and a public nuisance. It is the citadel of the forces that corrupt politics, promote poverty and crime, degrade the Nation's home life, thwart the will of the people and deliver our country into the hands of rapacious class interests. All laws that, under the guise of regulation, legalize and protect this traffic, or make the Government share in its ill-gotten gains, are "vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy." We declare anew for the entire suppression of the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation, and transportation of alcoholic liquors as a beverage by Federal and State legislation. The full powers of Government should be exerted to secure this result. No party that fails to recognize the dominant nature of this issue in American politics deserves the support of the people.

(2) No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex, and equal labor should receive equal wages without regard to sex.

(3) The money of the country should consist of gold, silver, and paper, and be issued by the general Government only, and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of business and give full opportunity for the employment of labor. To this end an increase in the volume of money is demanded. No individual or corporation should be allowed to make any profit through its issue. It should be made a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. Its volume should be fixed at a definite sum *per capita*, and made to increase with our increase in population.

(4) Tariff should be levied only as a defense against foreign governments which levy tariff upon, or bar out our products from their markets, revenue being incidental. The residue of means necessary to an economical administration of the Government should be raised by levying the burden on what the people possess, instead of upon what they consume.

(5) Railroad, telegraph, and other public corporations should be controlled by the Government in the interest of the people, and no higher charges allowed than necessary to give fair interest on the capital actually invested.

(6) Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one of the factors in depressing wages and causing discontent; therefore, our immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced. The time of residence for naturalization should be extended, and no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until one year after he becomes a citizen.

(7) Non-resident aliens should not be allowed to acquire land in this country, and we favor the limitation of individual and corporate ownership of land. All unearned grants of lands to railroad companies or other corporations should be reclaimed.

(8) Years of inaction and treachery on the part of the Republican and Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of mob law, and we demand that every citizen be protected in the right of trial by constitutional tribunals.

(9) All men should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven.

(10) Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling national differences.

(11) Speculations in margins, the cornering of grain, money and products, and the formation of pools, trusts, and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices should be suppressed.

(12) We pledge that the Prohibition Party, if elected to power, will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union army and navy, their widows and orphans.

(13) We stand unequivocally for the American public school and opposed to any appropriation of public moneys for sectarian schools. We declare that only by united support of such common schools, taught in the English language, can we hope to become and remain a homogeneous and harmonious people.

(14) We arraign the Republican and Democratic parties as false to the standards reared by their founders; as faithless to the principles of the illustrious leaders of the past to whom they do homage with the lips; as recalcitrant to the higher law, which is as inflexible in political affairs as in personal life; and as no longer embodying the aspirations of the American people, or inviting the confidence of enlightened, progressive patriotism. Their protest

against the admission of "moral issues" into politics is a confession of their own moral degeneracy. The declaration of an eminent authority that municipal misrule is "the once conspicuous failure of American politics," follows as a natural consequence of such degeneracy, and is true alike of cities under Republican and Democratic control. Each accuses the other of extravagance in Congressional appropriations, and both are alike guilty. Each protests, when out of power, against infraction of the civil service laws, and each when in power violates those laws in letter and in spirit. Each professes fealty to the interests of the toiling masses, but both covertly truckle to the money power in their administration of public affairs. Even the tariff issue, as represented in the Democratic Mills bill and the Republican McKinley bill, is no longer treated by them as an issue between great and divergent principles of government, but is a mere catering to different sectional and class interests. The attempt in many States to wrest the Australian ballot system from its true purpose, and so to deform it as to render it extremely difficult for new parties to exercise the right of suffrage, is an outrage upon popular government. The competition of both old parties for the vote of the slums, and their assiduous courting of the liquor power and subversivity to the money power, have resulted in placing those powers in the position of practical arbiters of the destinies of the nation. We renew our protest against these perilous tendencies, and invite all citizens to join us in the upbuilding of a party that has shown, in five national campaigns, that it prefers temporary defeat to an abandonment of the claims of justice, sobriety, personal rights and the protection of American homes.

(15) Recognizing and declaring that Prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who, on this one dominant issue, are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

People's Party's National Platform, Adopted at Omaha, Nebraska, July 4, 1892.

Assembled upon the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's Party of America, in their first National Convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, puts forth, in the name and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and declaration of principles:

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a Nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists.

The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection. Imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hired standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders. A vast public debt payable in legal-tender currency has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism. We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon a suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort, to prevent or restrain them.

Neither do they now promise any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver, and the oppressions of the usurers, may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the Nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand generation who established their independence, we seek to restore the Government of the Republic to the hands of "the plain people," with whose class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the national Constitution, to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free Government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact as we are in name one united brotherhood of free men.

Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world. Our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must, within a few weeks or months, be exchanged for billions of dollars worth of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, and the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that, if given power, we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation, in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the powers of Government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the Postal Service), as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people, and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies, as a party of reform, are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous, and temperate, we, nevertheless, regard these questions—important as they are—as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions depend; and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a Republic to administer, before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered; believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is remedied, and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country.

We declare, therefore,

That the union of the labor forces of the United States, this day consummated, shall be permanent and perpetual. May its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic, and the uplifting of mankind!

Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work neither shall they eat." The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

(1) We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the Government enter upon the work of owning and managing any or all railroads we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the Government service shall be placed under a civil service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the National Administration by the use of such additional Government employees.

(2) We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the General Government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations; a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent. per annum, be provided as set forth in the Sub-Treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or some better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

(3) We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

(4) We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

(5) We demand a graduated income tax.

(6) We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and National revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the Government, economically and honestly administered.

(7) We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

(8) Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

(9) The telegraph and telephone, like the Post Office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

(10) The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

SUBSIDIARY RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, Other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following, not as a part of the platform of the People's Party, but as resolutions expressive of the sentiment of this convention:

(1) *Resolved*, That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal intervention through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian or secret ballot system.

(2) *Resolved*, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now resting upon the domestic industries of this country.

(3) *Resolved*, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.

(4) *Resolved*, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage earners, and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.

(5) *Resolved*, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on Government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

(6) *Resolved*, That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition; and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by Federal officials.

(7) *Resolved*, That we commend to the favorable consideration of the people, and the reform press, the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.

(8) *Resolved*, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of Senators of the United States by a direct vote of the people.

(9) *Resolved*, That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

(10) The People's Party at the outset to secure permanent control of the party organization of the people unaffected by the interests of those in public service does hereby in National convention assembled at Omaha on this 4th day of July, 1892, establish this ordinance as fundamental law of party organization, viz.: No person holding any office or position of profit, trust or emolument under the Federal or any State or municipal government, including Senators, Congressmen and members of the Legislature, State and local, shall be eligible to sit or vote in any convention of this party, and a copy of this ordinance shall be annexed to every call for any future convention of the party.

Qualifications for Voting.

The qualifications for voting in the various States; the length of time a voter is required to have lived in the State, county, town, and precinct, respectively (years, months, days, being indicated "y," "m," "d," and a leader (....), being used where no time is specified); and the classes of persons by statute excluded from the suffrage, are as follows (key at bottom):

ALA., <i>A, B</i> ; 1y, 3m, 30d, 30d; <i>a, b, c, d</i> .	NEBRASKA, <i>A, B</i> (30d); 6m, 40d,
ARK., <i>A, B</i> ; 1y, 6m,, 1m; <i>c, d, e</i> .	10d; <i>c, d, a, e</i> .
CAL., <i>A</i> ; 1y, 90d,, 30d; <i>f, d, g, h</i> .	NEVADA, <i>A</i> ; 6m, 30d,,; <i>c, d</i> ,
COL., <i>A, B</i> (4m); 8m, 90d,, 10d; <i>e</i> .	<i>a, e, n</i> †.
CONNECTICUT, <i>C</i> ; 1y,, 6m,; <i>h</i> .	NEW HAMPSHIRE, <i>G</i> (<i>a</i> or <i>b</i>); 6m,,
DELAWARE, <i>A, D</i> (2y)†; 1y, 6m,,	6m,; <i>p, r</i> .*
15d; <i>c, d, p, e</i> .	N. JERSEY, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 5m,,; <i>c, d, e</i> .
FLORIDA, <i>A, B, D</i> (2y); 1y, 6m,,	NEW YORK, <i>A</i> (10d); 1y, 4m,, 30d;
....; <i>d, e, i, h</i> .	<i>k, h, w</i> .
GEORGIA, <i>A</i> ; 1, 6m,,; <i>c, d, b</i> .	N. CAROLINA, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 90d,,; <i>e, h</i> .
IDAHO, <i>A</i> ; 6m, 30d,,; <i>f, o, j, e</i> ,	N. DAK., <i>A, B, F</i> ; 1y, 6m,, 90d; <i>m, c</i> .
<i>d, k</i> .	OHIO, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 30d,, 20d; <i>e, c, d</i> .
ILLINOIS, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 90d, 30d, 30d; <i>b</i> .*	OREGON, <i>A, B</i> (1y); 6m,,,
IND., <i>A, B, K</i> (1y); 6m, 60d,, 30d; <i>i</i>.	....; <i>c, d, e, m, f</i> .
IOWA, <i>A</i> , 6m, 60d,,; <i>c, d, h, m</i> †.	PA., <i>A</i> (1m), <i>D</i> (2y)†; 1y,, 2m; <i>i, s</i> .
KAN., <i>A, B</i> ; 6m,,, 30d; <i>c, d, h, n</i> .	R. I., <i>A</i> ; 2y,, 6m,; <i>p, d, c, k</i> .*
KY., <i>A</i> ; 1y, 6m,, 60d; <i>a, e, k</i> †, <i>c, d</i> .	SOUTH CAROLINA, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 60d,; <i>a</i> ,
LA., <i>A, B</i> ; 1y, 6m,, 30d; <i>c, d, a, g, b</i> .	<i>e, h, r, p, d</i> .
MAINE, <i>A</i> ; 3m, 3m, 3m,; <i>p, i, o</i> .*.	SOUTH DAKOTA, <i>A, B</i> ; 6m, 6m,,
MASSACHUSETTS, <i>C</i> *, <i>D</i> (2y), <i>E</i> ; 1y,	30d; <i>i, c, d, a, e</i> .*.
...., 6m, 30d; <i>p</i> *, <i>i</i> .	TENN., <i>A</i> ; 1y, 6m,,; <i>k</i> or <i>h</i> .
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10d; <i>o, r</i> *, <i>r</i> .	VERMONT, <i>A</i> ; 1y,, 6m,; <i>h, y, n</i> †.
MINNESOTA, <i>A, B, F</i> ; 4m, 10d,,	VIRGINIA, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 3m, 3m, 30d; <i>c, d, i</i> ,
10d; <i>a</i> *, <i>e</i> *, <i>i, d</i> .	<i>g, a, e, r, r</i> †.
MISS., <i>C</i> †; 2y,,, 1y; <i>d, o</i> *, <i>e, s</i> .	WASHINGTON, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 90d,, 30d; <i>o</i> .*
MISSOURI, <i>A, B</i> (1y); 1y, 60d, 60d,;	WEST VIRGINIA, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 60d,,;
<i>m, p, b</i> *, <i>e, t</i> .*.	<i>p, c, d, a, e, w</i> .
MONTANA, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 30d, 30d, 30d; <i>o, e</i> .*.	WIS., <i>A, B</i> ; 1y,,, 10d; <i>d, i, a</i> *, <i>e</i> *,
	WYO., <i>A, B</i> ; 6m, 30d,,; <i>i, c, d, e</i> *, <i>i, c</i> .

The italic capitals preceding the first semicolon indicate requirements for suffrage, as follows:

A. Citizen of the United States. *B*. Alien who has declared intention of becoming citizen (time previous that he must have declared expressed in parentheses). *C*. Citizen of the United States who can read the Constitution; *C**, in English; *C*†, "read and understand." *D*. Must have paid taxes (time within which in parentheses); *D* (—)* provided he be over 22 years old. *E*. Citizen who can write. *F*. Civilized Indians. *G*. Inhabitants (*a*) native. (*b*) naturalized. *H*. Inhabitant who has declared intention (length of time in parentheses). *K*. Alien who has declared intention and resided one year in the county, and six months in the State.

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CONNECTICUT, <i>C</i> ; 1y,, 6m,; <i>h</i> .	6m,; <i>p</i> *, <i>r</i> .*
DELAWARE, <i>A, D</i> (2y)†; 1y, 6m,,	N. JERSEY, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 5m,; <i>c, d, f</i> .
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IOWA, <i>A</i> ; 6m, 60d,,; <i>c, d, h, m</i> †.	R. I., <i>A</i> ; 2y,, 6m,; <i>p, d, c, i</i> †.
KAN., <i>A, B</i> ; 6m,,, 30d; <i>c, d, h, n</i> .	SOUTH CAROLINA, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 30d,,
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LA., <i>A, B</i> ; 1y, 6m,, 30d; <i>c, d, a, g, b</i> .	SOUTH DAKOTA, <i>A, B</i> ; 6m, 6m,
MAINE, <i>A</i> ; 3m, 3m, 3m,; <i>p, i, o</i> .*	30d; <i>i, c, d, a, e</i> .*
MARYLAND, <i>A</i> ; 1y, 6m,, 1d; <i>h</i> *, <i>i</i> .	TENN., <i>A</i> ; 1y, 6m,,; <i>k</i> or <i>h</i> .
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